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THE NEW
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REFORM IN CHINESE MOURNING RITES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (Retired)

Many Chinese of the present day on the death of a relative (especially if a parent) find themselves in a dilemma as to whether to perform the mourning and funeral rites according to the old elaborate system or so far to break away from their traditions as to adopt simpler modern methods. The result is that in most cases the rites are at present hybrid, composed of ceremonies and accessories having their origin both in the East and the West, the main cause of the change being the influence of foreign ideas and foreign education. In the marriage procession, the bridal chair is now often supplanted by a foreign four-wheeled carriage, the roof of which is decorated with woollen pompoms of many colours; and though in the funeral procession the foreign type of bier

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and coffin has, fortunately, not taken the place of the Chinese type, yet many things not originally belonging to these rites have been introduced. Anyone who, in the streets of Peking for example, meets a funeral procession observes in it models, made of paper, cardboard, or other materials, of articles unknown to the ancient rites. I have seen models of foreign horse-drawn carriages (the feet of the horses running on small wheels), of motor cars, of gramophones, etc.—things which would surely cause Ti Tsang Wang to "change countenance," and make the term pandemonium still more appropriate to the regions over which he is king. The rule is, of course, that the models shall include the things beloved by the deceased, and so when he or she was possessed of these modern articles introduced from the West, it is presumed that they will be required, or at least desired, in the next life as much as those of more archaic pattern. In cases of this sort the solution of the problem is comparatively simple, for apparently the wishes or convenience of the gods, etc., are not consulted ; but when it is a question, for example, whether a man shall wear mourning for his parents for three years or for three months, whether he shall wear white or black mourning garments, or none at all, whether he shall resign office or not, whether he shall surrender his possessions to the dead, whether he shall leave his house and dwell in a mourning shed, whether he shall abstain from sexual relation, etc., the solution is not so simple. Here the elements of "filiality" and public opinion (the opinion very often of over-officious or snobbish neighbors) come in and are not to be ignored. In the primitive small-minded type of society, to be found, for example, in an English village, where the squire and the parson between them exercise a tyranny like in kind, if not in degree, yet often as oppressive (and as pitiable) as that of the Romanoffs or the Hohenzollerns, the question in the mind of the man in the street (or the pew) whether he shall continue to attend religious services to which his conscience forbids him any longer to subscribe, is of the same type as that which is exercising the minds of many Chinese confronted with the problem of conformity or non-conformity to the old elaborate

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funeral and mourning ceremonial of their ancestors, involving as it does, if completely carried out, much physical suffering, vast expense, often ruin. In these matters a revolution is now taking place which is none the less far-reaching and important because (as is often the case in matters of this kind) it is moving silently, unaccompanied by flag-wagging or stump-oratory, and is not often brought to public notice in newspapers or other printed publications.

In order to obtain a ruling on the point of how mourning rites should be performed in the light of modern education and civilization some Chinese scholars recently addressed a request to Mr. Hu Shih, a learned Chinese scholar and author of works on psychology and other matters. Having before me a copy of the document in which he embodied his opinions, it seemed to me that it would be of interest to foreign scholars, both because Mr. Hu has had the courage not only to publish but also to act up to his unorthodox beliefs, and also because the system followed by him will, in all probability, be that generally adopted in the present transition period of Chinese thought, until finally the "inward and spiritual grace" of the mourning systems of the most advanced nations of the West, consisting of things of the heart and not of the broadening of phylacteries or enlarging of the borders of garments, shall supplant the vicarious emulation of primitive societies, in which quantity, noise, display of wealth, etc., are so conspicuous that one wonders if there is any room left at all for real heart-feelings,—for the psychologist knows that the deepest feelings are silent.

I give below my translation of Mr. Hu's document. It is clearly expressed, and calls for no further comment except the references I have added in foot-notes. In one case (dealt with in a foot-note) Mr. Hu has blundered somewhat badly in his interpretation and application of the law of evolution, but this does not impair his general argument. His courage and example cannot but do good in helping to free China from the trammels of superstition, much as the student of sociology regrets, from the academical standpoint, the passing of many

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interesting archaic forms pregnant with valuable material for the history of civilization.

"Last year," writes Mr. Hu, "the Peking Popular Lecture Society requested me to give an address on 'Reform in Mourning Rites.' The date for the address was fixed for the 27th day of the 11th month. Unexpectedly, on the 24th day of that month I received a telegram from my home informing me of the death of my mother. Thus, before I had even begun my address it had become a question of myself actually taking a practical part in the 'reform of mourning rites!' On the 25th I made haste to return to the South; and when I was about to set out on my journey two scholars came to see me, and said: 'We have come to-day, first, to bid you godspeed on your journey; secondly, you, sir, have in times past referred to the subject of introducing reform into the mourning ceremonial. Now that, unfortunately, this great grief has befallen you, we very much hope that you will change the old forms of ceremonial.' I thanked them for their kind thought, and then, entering my carriage, took my departure.

"Before leaving the capital, it occurred to me that it might not be convenient to have printing done in my home village, so before starting I had the announcement of death printed ready for use. It was in the following form:

> "'We reverently announce that our mother, Fêng *T'ai fu jên*[1] died of sickness on the 23rd day of the 11th month of the 7th year of the Republic at her home at Shang Ch'uan in Chi Ch'i, Anhui.
>
> "'Respectfully announced by
>
> Hu Chio,
> Hu Shih.'

"This announcement of death omits three vulgar conventionalities. The first is:—'The crimes and sins of the unfilial So-and-So and his fellow mourners were deep and heavy, but instead of killing and annihilating the perpetrators thereof the disaster engendered by them has reached our deceased

(1) 太夫人—term used to denote the mother of an official.

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ancestor,'—all a string of devil-talk. This kind of devil-talk involves the idea that the punishment for the sons' sins is visited upon the parents. This is an argument which cannot be sustained at the present day. Moreover, people of the present day do not believe in this savage view of merit and punishment. They only adopt it because they have become habituated to it. But that is meaningless conduct. The second is:—the conventional phrase, 'The mourning orphans So-and-So and others with tears of blood and clothed in mourning garments prostrate themselves, knocking their heads on the ground.' Under the Republican régime we have abolished the kowtow, much less do we weep tears of blood. Why, then, by deceiving ourselves should we deceive others also? The third is:—'The mourning orphans' behind whom is arrayed that great crowd of 'mourning adopted sons'[1] 'grandsons wearing the even-edged mourning garments,'[2] and those 'wearing the one year's mourning,' relatives wearing the 'one year's mourning,' the 'coarse fabric,'[3] and 'fine fabric'[4] mourning garments, etc., etc., and so through all the related clan; together with 'wiping their eyes prostrate themselves,' and 'wiping their tears knock their heads,' with all their 'genealogical' formality! Why should this great crowd appear in all their ranks in the announcement of death? Merely because it is a custom handed down with the clan system of the early dynasties. Nowadays, since we no longer acknowledge the evil clan system, we naturally have no use for the insertion of this long list of names. There is also that long graduated category from 'prostrate themselves weeping tears of blood' to 'wiping their tears knock their heads.' Again, what is the derivation of all this? It is the poison of the Confucian school working the 'kindred' idea to death. Because there are graduated series of near and far relations, even when they write down a 'weep' they must put it in

(1) 降服子, sons given to be adopted as heirs by other relatives.
(2) 齊衰, mourning of the second degree.
(3) 大功, mourning of the third degree.
(4) 小功, mourning of the fourth degree.

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accordance with the different genealogical gradations! But since we nowadays certainly do not admit that weeping and mourning are to be arranged in genealogical order we erase the whole of this empty 'genealogical' phraseology.

"Whilst I was in Peking, my family telegraphed asking, 'Ought we to enshroud the corpse?' I replied: 'Yes; enshroud it.' When I reached home the corpse had been enshrouded for seven days; the grave-clothes and coffin had all been prepared; there could not then be any alteration with regard to these. Our custom at Hui Chou is, when a death occurs in a family, the related clan and one's own family must all present tin-foil, white paper, and incense; and especially fastidious people send as well 'winding satin,'[1] paper clothes and hats, paper furniture, and other things. The tin-foil and white paper sent by all the various families is often in superabundance; so much, in fact, that it cannot all be burned. Accordingly, when the funeral is over, the mourning family often strike a bargain with the storekeeper to sell it back to him at a discount! Extravagant expenditure of this sort is certainly unreasonable. So when I reached my native place I issued a notice to all those with whom we had social relations to the following effect:

> "'With regard to the mourning in which this family is placed, it has been decided to change somewhat the evil customs of olden times. If we are honored with your condolences, one stick of incense or things belonging to the class of funeral scrolls will be accepted. Beyond this any tin-foil, white paper, paper articles for burning, winding satin, etc.—none will be received. Please do not send any. We humbly entreat that you will pardon us [for refusing them.]'
>
> "This notice was sent with the announcement of death. It had the desired effect. Not a single family sent any of the above-mentioned articles.

(1) 盤緞, bedding for the corpse, put with it in the coffin.

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"Priests, Buddhist and Taoist, naturally were not employed, That they resented this, goes without saying. There was also a set of speculators who, estimating that my family relations were very numerous and that I should be sure to order no small quantity of paper funeral gifts and bedding for the corpse, opened a new paper-articles shop in our village specially to supply our family, but I having unexpectedly excluded all these things the new paper shop had no alternative but to close its doors.

"After my arrival at my home I made inquiries regarding the true state of things from my relatives of an elder generation, because having been long away from my native land I had become uncertain about the facts. And I compiled a biography of my late mother. Now, since we do not 'sleep on straw' nor 'use a clod for a pillow' we also do not employ the 'mat-clod-unconscious-incoherent speech,' etc., all that mad phraseology. The two words *chi jên*,[1] 'thorn man,' or 'bramble man,' the careful observer of the prescribed forms of mourning, are meaningless. (The 'White Cap,' in the *Kuei Ballads* of the *Book of Poetry*, did not originally refer to three years' mourning, but was a poem of feeling; so it contains the phrases 'I should be inclined to go and live with the wearer [of the white lower dress]' and 'I should almost feel as of one soul with the wearer.' The 'white cap' and 'white lower dress,' also, are merely of the same kind as the 'robe of hemp like snow' of the *Ts'ao* Odes in the *Shih ching;* it is improbable that they refer specially to mourning garments. As to the two words *chi jên*, 'earnest mourner,' *chi* means 'anxious' or 'worried,' and the phrase does not mean anything more than 'wearying oneself' or being 'busy'; yet this excellent poem of sympathy has been explained by some corrupt Confucianists as a treatise on mourning rites! Truly it is detestable!) Thus I did not use these either. In making my biography I held firmly to the standard of speaking nothing but the literal truth; so I could not avoid offending a good many people. Only by offending them I proved that

(1) 棘人.

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I was speaking the truth. If educated people, when writing memorials of the dead, entertain fears lest on the one hand they should offend the dead and on the other the living, they will not be able to avoid falsehood:—but falsehood is the extreme of irreverence.

"After the announcement of death had been sent out, I received condolences. The ordinary custom at the time of condolence is:—Drums are beaten outside the house, inside the 'spirit curtain'[1] is hung up. The master of the house and the men and women of the establishment wail. The condoling guests having left, the wailing ceases. What absurd behaviour! Men of olden times 'wailed until they wept'; but this weeping was surely not done for the condoling guests! In order to use the weeping as a pretence of 'filiality' people of wealth in whose establishments the condoling guests are numerous invariably spend money on hiring people to come and weep for them. But being only a poor bookman how could I have the necessary funds to hire people to come and do the weeping for me? When I received the condolences, the spirit curtain having been hung up, the master of the house from inside the curtain thanked the condoling visitors; outside, my sons and nephews attended to the guests. When their grief is extreme they weep; but the weepers did not give vent to loud false noises. When they could not weep they did not do so; but on no account did they give vent to any false kind of wailing for the sake of the mourning guests.

"Then with regard to sacrificial ceremonial. In our Hui Chou there are the birthplaces of Chu Tzŭ,[2] Chiang Chên Hsiu,[3] Tai Tung Yüan,[4] and Hu P'ei-hui.[5] Instruction in ceremonial is carried on in their families from generation to

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(1) 靈帷, the curtain used to screen the corpse, or the tablet if the mourning is performed at another place.

(2) Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130–1200), the famous commentator.

(3) Chiang Yung (A.D. 1680–1762), a recluse and teacher of Confucianism and Taoism. Author of *Li chi kang mu* and various other works.

(4) Tai Chên (A.D. 1722–77), author of commentaries on Mencius opposing the views of Chu Hsi.

(5) A recently-deceased philosopher.

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generation, so they are very particular about the ceremonial worship. When I was a child, I saw I know not how many greater and smaller worships. The ceremonial of the worship was very trying; each kind always required two or three hours; at the greater worships in the hall of ancestors at the vernal equinox and winter solstice it lasted for four to five hours. When I was young, I heard the *hsiu-ts'ai*[1] gentlemen say that at these seasons they had to worship for half the night, kneeling around and studying their ancestral genealogical registers, each man one volume, reading 'So-and-So deceased,' 'So-and-So deceased wife,' etc. The candle-light also was not brilliant, the weather moreover was cold, the stone floors were both icy and hard, yet they had to kneel and recite for fully two hours! And having finished the sacrifices and wrapped up the sacrificial meats[2] they must needs go through some more foolish recitations. This kind of ceremonial forms an essential part of clan-system regulation. It is exceedingly strange that when a death occurs in a family it should be thought necessary to request a lot of *hsiu-ts'ai* graduates to come and act as masters of ceremonies and perform the sacrificial worship in place of the host! When the ceremony is over, each of these masters of ceremonies receives some feet of white cloth, a white waist-belt, and is given a nine-course feast or an 'eight large and eight small.' In wealthy families, burial is delayed for many days, and every day there must be this bustle; so every day there must be a sacrifice of some kind—either one by the members of the family itself or a sacrifice 'given' by relatives. The family sacrifices are to-day that of the elder son, to-morrow that of the younger sons, the day after that of the elder grandsons, and so on. The sacrifices 'given' are those presented by wealthy relatives; if they live far off and cannot come in person they send money, requesting the head of the family to arrange the sacrificial feast and engage the masters of ceremonies on their behalf. In a word, what does the sacrificing consist of?

(1) B.A.'s.
(2) Gifts of remains to those who attend the sacrifices.

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Nothing but bustling, ostentation, arrogance. How can this be called sacrificing?

"At first my intention was to do away with the sacrificial ceremonial altogether—to change it all for condolence. But my maternal grandmother, who is more than seventy years of age and who has seen one son and two daughters die during her lifetime, was really grieved at heart, and so when she heard that I was going to do away with the sacrificing altogether she sent someone to say: 'You may have your wish in the whole affair, but two or three sacrifices are the very least that we can have.' So I thought it over carefully, and decided that it was best to humour her; only as the sacrificial ceremonies could not but be changed to some extent I changed them in two respects :—

"(1) Masters of sacrificial ceremonial to be members of our own clan (*i.e.*, members of our clan to be their own masters of ceremonies). Stand in order. Come to position. Salute the coffin. Three bows. Three presentations.[1] Read the sacrificial address (in this are mentioned the names of all who attend the ceremony, so it cannot be omitted). Take leave of the coffin. Conclusion of ceremony.

"(2) Sacrificial ceremony by relatives. I did not want any relatives to 'give' sacrifices, so I asked all those who had expressed their intention of doing so to come at the same time, selected one as master of ceremonies and two as assistants, the rest being those who attended the ceremony[2] (without any executive duty). No outsiders whatever were asked to be masters of ceremonies. Simultaneously those present made one bow towards the coffin. The 'three presentations'[3] ceremony was not used. Formerly the sacrificial ceremonial would have been spread over seven or eight days; by substituting the new ceremonial it was all finished in fifteen minutes. The programme of the ceremony was as follows :—

Stand in order. Master of ceremonies and his assistants take

(1) 跪, here standing in a respectful attitude.
(2) French *assister*.
(3) Of wine, food, and tea.

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up their positions. Salute the coffin. Three bows. Read the funeral address. Take leave of the coffin. Conclusion of the ceremony. Return thanks to guests.

"This second kind of sacrificial ceremonial of mine I think would very fully meet the requirements of a certain class of people. The basis of sacrificial ceremonial is the belief that the spirit of the deceased is still able to enjoy things. But we who do not hold this belief ought to change the ceremony of presenting food and drink offerings to the dead into the ceremonial offerings of manifestations of respect by the living towards the dead. Whether the dead know or not is another question; but the manifestation of respect by the living towards the dead is reasonable conduct: it is by rights not necessary to inquire whether the dead can or cannot apprehend our expression of respect. Some say: 'The presentation of food and drink according to the old ceremonial was also to manifest respect; and it was not necessary to ask whether the dead can or cannot eat and drink.' But there certainly is a difference between the two cases. People of ancient times firmly believed that the spirit of the dead could really enjoy the meats and drinks; so there was first the 'descent of the spirits,' then the 'three presentations,' ther. the 'inviting them to partake,' and moreover the 'worship of the furnace for burnt offerings' and 'raising the wail':—all this is superstitious conduct embodying the superstitions of the old ancestral doctrines—its object was not solely that of shewing the respect of the living for the dead.

"Now to discuss the funeral. When the funeral procession started, the inscribed banner went first, proclaiming whose family the funeral belonged to. Next came the coffin containing the corpse; next [I] the chief mourner following the coffin; next, those who were attending the funeral; besides the latter there were no other paraphernalia or escort. The chief mourner did not wail. When the wailing stopped he wept; but in weeping did not do so aloud. The chief mourner wore hemp clothes, no hat, did not use a mourning-staff, nor wear a waist-belt of straw, but merely a white cotton waist-band. Why did I wear hemp clothes? Originally I intended to

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follow the Republican mourning regulations and adopt the 'half-dress' mourning clothes, with a black crape band on the sleeve, but later on when I found that those who attended the funeral, both men and women, all wore white garments, the host alone could not wear black, so it seemed better to wear the hemp clothes, with a white waist-band. Why did I not wear a hat? Because since I could not use the high arched cap worn by filial sons in accordance with the ordinary ceremonial, and could not in the time at my disposal find one of suitable pattern, it seemed best to adopt the method of shewing respect by doffing the hat altogether. Why did I not use the mourning-staff? Because men of old, when in mourning for their parents, were prostrated by grief, going so far as to be in a half-dead condition, 'only able to rise if assisted, only to walk with the aid of the staff.' But since we do not now go to such extremes, why should we use the staff merely for purposes of ostentation?

"We dwell together in clans. When a death occurs we must accompany the soul-tablet to the ancestral temple. In the ordinary mourning rites there is the rule about 'writing the tablet' and 'dotting the 主.' Someone was requested to write the inscription on the spirit-tablet all complete, omitting only the dot on the top of the 主. Then someone of good family was asked to dot the 主 on the tablet with a vermilion pencil-brush dipped in the blood from a cock's comb. This was 'dotting the tablet.' In funeral rites this was one of the most important ceremonies, because it was one of the most dignity-conferring and showy proceedings. Think back to the year after Yüan Shih-k'ai died. His sons and grandsons requested Hsü Shih-ch'ang to perform this traditional dotting of the tablet, which shows what great importance is attached to it.

"On the present occasion people of my home came and asked me whom we should request to dot the tablet. I said: 'It is unnecessary to dot the tablet.' And why? Because in the old ceremonial there is only 'request a calligraphist to write the 主.' (Chu Tzŭ's *Chia li* agrees on this with Wên Kung's[1]

(1) Ssŭ-ma Kuang.

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Shu i.) This was due to the fact that the person himself might not be able to write well, so someone who could was requested to write the inscription on the tablet. The idea was to emphasize the dignity of the occasion. People of later times availed themselves of the occasion of a death[1] to make a show, and that is why they requested a wealthy person to dot the tablet; only since these rich people did not necessarily know how to write—it might be that the person asked was a military governor who could not even read—the head mourner's family had the inscription written out beforehand on the tablet, omitting only the dot on the top of the 主, and requested the chief guest to write in his 'honourable handwriting' to[2] dot it. This method enabled some big generalissimo, who might not know how to write, to write the inscription! But as I was averse to taking advantage of my deceased mother to make a show on my behalf, it seemed better to follow the ceremonial rule of antiquity. So I requested my old friend Chin Jên to write out the inscription in full including the dot on the 主, and after the funeral I sent the tablet to the ancestral temple. And that settled the matter.

"Before the funeral, some one came to me and said he had a good burial-ground, and that if the burial took place there he would guarantee that I would become the head of a Ministry! I said: 'I also have read some works on geomancy, but never once did I find in them the words *tsung chang*, Minister or Director.' Let him keep that good bit of land for his own use! I went out myself and found a plot of burial-ground. It adjoined the burial-ground of my late father, Mr. Iron Flower. The village people thought that because I, the 'foreign Han-lin,' had seen about the *fêng-shui* of the site the ground must certainly be the best that could be found; so less than ten days after my mother's burial had taken place a party brought a coffin and interred it in the same field below my mother's grave. People came to me and said: 'The

(1) Literally, "borrowed the deceased."
(2) 大筆.

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coffin in front is interfering with the *ch'i*[1] of the one behind.' I replied: '*Ch'i* can come in from the four quarters and eight sides, nothing can stop it. Let it hinder it as much as it pleases!'

"Here ends the record of my funeral affairs.

"Now I will further discuss my mourning robes. When, at Peking, I received the inauspicious telegram, how could I be in a mood for deliberate thinking? So I stupidly went and did what I had formerly been accustomed to do. I doffed my long fur-lined satin outer garment, changing it for a cotton one, put on a cloth hat, to which I added a white band, and also bought a pair of white shoes. My watch-chain being gold—gold-plated—I left it in Peking. The legs of my spectacles were also of gold, but there was not time to have them changed; also, I could not do without them, so the only thing to do was to take them with me. The lining of my wadded coat was of silk, but there was not time to have it changed for a cloth one, so there was no alternative but to take it and wear it—when it was on people could not see the inside! On the sleeve of my riding-coat I put a band of black crape. All this was on the day before my departure when, being in a state of stupefaction, I did just what I had been accustomed to do. But once *en route* I began to ponder on these things, and felt very much ashamed of myself. Why was I ashamed? Because the formulæ regarding mourning-clothes I had adopted on this occasion were all a mass of unreasonableness. White hat-band, cloth long garment, cloth hat, white clothes belong to the ancient Chinese ceremonial. The wearing of a black crape band on the sleeve was a new regulation instituted in the first year of the Republic, but, having adopted the black crape, why put on white also? Why should I not wear the fur coat? Why did I not dare to wear silk or satin? Why could I not use gold-coloured things? The wearing of black crape on silk and satin clothes, was not this still the mourning-costume of the Republic? And if gold was not to be worn, could it be said that the wearing of silver was more filial?

(1) Vital force.

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"I have asked several 'why's?' But being really unable to answer them myself I naturally bethought me of Confucius' saying: 'If you were, after a year [of mourning] to eat good rice, and wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?' Only I asked further: 'Why should I hearken to the words of Confucius? Since, when we now *shih tao* (mod., *ch'ih fan*), eat rice, we are already at ease, why, when wearing embroidered clothes should we not feel at ease also?' Careful thinking convinced me that I had not yet rid myself of the influence of the supernaturalism of the archaic customs; I was still afraid of what people would say!

"Only at that time, when I was on the journey, it was important to travel as quickly as possible, and I was not in a frame of mind to think of trifles and details. When I reached my native place I was still busier, and did not get time to think of the mourning regulations. As regards the mourning clothes worn during the funeral rites I have already spoken above. After the funeral observances were finished, I still as before had on the cloth garment, cloth cap, white hat-band, white cotton shoes, and a black crape band on my arm. Being accustomed to them, I did not perceive anything strange in these neither Chinese nor Western, half-new half-old, mourning costumes. Truly the influence of habit is terrible!

"This year at the end of the fourth month I went to Shanghai to welcome Professor Dewey. After a few days, on the 7th day of the 5th moon, there took place the mass meeting of Shanghai citizens. As everyone will probably remember, the weather that day was exceedingly hot. When I went to the Public Drill Hall I had on a long-lined cloth garment, my cloth trousers still had the flannel lining. Above I wore a sateen jacket. I wanted to hear some of the speeches of the Shanghai orators, and when I had managed to push my way so as to be near the platform I was already streaming with perspiration. I took off my jacket, and, when the speeches were over, followed the crowd out into the street, and walked all the way from the West to the East Gate. In walking not only my inner but even my double outer

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garments were all saturated with perspiration. So I went back to a shop kept by a fellow-provincial, and requested one of them to take me where I could buy some clothes; for when I left Peking I had not provided for a long stay, so had not brought a change of unlined garments. The influence of custom was still present. I naturally went to a small clothes shop on the side-walk[1] to see if I could find a cotton shirt, crape jacket, calico trousers, etc. But we searched everywhere without finding anything suitable. Being still wet with perspiration, I was anxious for a change of apparel, but cotton clothes cannot be worn until after they have been washed. When we had traversed the side-walk from end to end we were still empty-handed. Then I suddenly asked myself: 'Why should I insist upon buying cotton clothes? Because, being in mourning, if I were to don silk people would wag their tongues. But why should I fear people's idle talk?' To this question I could find no answer, so I made up my mind to go and buy silk clothes. I purchased a long shirt of 'pawned but never worn'[2] palace silk, a real native crape jacket, a pair of crape gauze leggings; and also borrowed [*sic*] a suit of underclothing. Then I changed my clothes. When I began to do so, I remembered that I still had the black crape band on my sleeve. Afterwards I thought again: 'Why must I wear black crape?' Because my period of mourning is not ended. I then thought again: 'Why must I observe these three years' mourning regulations? I am not a disciple of Confucius, and heretofore have not supported the mourning regulations of the Confucian school. Why have I not the courage to observe a short period of mourning?' Again I could not return a satisfactory answer; so took a firm resolve to observe only a short period of mourning and discarded the crape band on my sleeve.

"Reckoning from the 7th day of the 5th moon, when I ceased mourning I had from first to last worn mourning for a space of five months and ten or more days. People asked me

(1) 石路.
(2) 原當的.

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what ceremonial I was following. I replied: 'The old ceremonial.' They then again asked: 'The old ceremonial of what dynasty?' I said it was the ceremonial of the 'indefinite mourning period' of the most ancient dynasties mentioned in the *I ch'uan*.[1] I regard the 'indefinite mourning period' as being the most reasonable. No two people's feelings are alike. The virtues and vices of parents are no two alike; sons' feelings of grief and respect are also no two alike. As it says in the *T'an kung*[2]:—

> "'When Tzŭ Hsia was introduced (to the Master) after he had put off the mourning (for his parents), a lute was given to him. He tried to tune it, but could hardly do so; he touched it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, "I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I dare not go beyond them." When a lute was given to Tzŭ Kang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily did so; he touched it and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, "The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I do not dare not to come up to them."'

"This shows that the feelings of grief for parents are not the same in every case. Tzŭ Chang and Hsing Wo objected to three years' mourning as too long. Tzŭ Hsia and Min Tzŭ-hsien,[3] again, objected to three years as too short. The best course is the 'undefined mourning period.' A long one might last several years; a short one three months or three days, or there might be no period for wearing mourning clothes at all. Not only should the period be undefined, but it is also necessary to break through the regulations of ancient dynasties regarding the fixed mourning costumes of different grades. My meaning is that the application of mourning regulations should not be limited only to one's own

(1) 易傳.
(2) Book II of the *Li chi*.
(3) Four disciples of Confucius.

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relatives. One's own relatives should be remembered, and the wearing of mourning for that purpose should not be interfered with; friends should be remembered, and there is also no reason to interfere with mourning for them; those who should not be remembered, never mind in what degree of mourning they stand, it is entirely unnecessary to wear mourning for them.

"My mother throughout my life was the most venerated of persons. To keep her in remembrance I therefore naturally would not stop mourning after five or six months. Why then did I adopt the short period of mourning? My reason does not rest on one ground alone. The first is: I felt that the custom of wearing clothes for three years has nowadays no cause to be perpetuated. Ku T'ing-lin[1] says: 'In the matter of the reforms instituted by the great sages of the Three Dynasties, the only ones which have been preserved to the present day are the regulations regarding mourning.' (*Jih chih lu, chüan* 15). This statement is really regrettable! Nowadays people in mourning can drink wine and eat meat, can carry on official business, interfere in politics, and plot for frontiers, can fornicate, gamble, and take to themselves concubines, can in fact do all kinds of 'unfilial' things; only they must rigorously observe these three years of wearing white clothes according to the 'mourning regulations!' They cannot really do three years of 'mourning,' but they must scrupulously wear the 'mourning garments' for three years! This is just what Mencius said: 'To eat immoderately and swill down the soup, and at the same time to inquire about the precept not to tear the meat with the teeth;—such things show what I call ignorance of what is most important.' Second:—to genuinely preserve the memory of one's parents there are many ways; why then only observe the 'three years' mourning' regulations? The present mourning regulations are only the outer skin of the old mourning ceremonial, but are the form under which men now keep up false appearances

(1) A.D. 1612–81. A writer on the classics, poetry, history, topography, etc.

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and by deceiving themselves deceive others. Now because I did not wish to use these self-deceiving-deceiving-others mourning regulations as a means of keeping my mother in remembrance, I of special intent adopted the short-period mourning. Because I do not conform to '*ch'uan hsiao*' (wearing mourning), I must be regarded as '*hsiao*' (filial). Not to conform to *hsiao* is to take it and clothe the body with it. Therefore, again, I purposely adopted the short-period mourning. Third:—people nowadays when observing mourning for their parents refer to themselves as 'observing the regulations'; when writing their names they add a small 制, 'regulations.' I would ask: 'Who was it who established this kind of regulations? Were they regulations handed down from the ancients, or were they fixed by law by the present government?' The laws of the Republic did not fix the length of the mourning-period. If it be said that they are regulations transmitted from the ancient dynasties, then from the putting on the unhemmed (deep) mourning for three years to that of the fourth degree, all are 'regulations.' How can the three years' mourning alone be called 'regulations'? Moreover, the regulations handed down from the ancient dynasties should at the present day be subjected to criticism and investigation to see which transmitted regulations ought or ought not to be preserved, without stupidly submitting to and complying with them merely because they are old regulations. Because I respect liberty of conscience I cannot blindly follow meaningless old regulations. Therefore, once more, I adopted the short-period mourning. Fourth:—the mourning-dress regulations as now carried out contain many impracticable provisions. If it be said that white (or plain) colour is the colour of mourning, the present fashion is to favour plain-coloured clothes; for quite a long time white (or plain) colour has not been a sign of mourning. If it be said that cotton cloth is mourning and silk and satin are not, then, besides materials made of silk, are the various kinds of foreign plain woven materials to be regarded as cotton cloth or not? The plain foreign woven cloth is allowed to be worn, why then should our native silk materials alone be disallowed? And since

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silk and satin made of the silk of the silkworm are not allowed to be worn, how is it that foreign cloth made of sheep's wool may be worn? Also, sheepskin may be worn, then why not foxskin? Silver things may be worn, why not gold and gold-plated things? All these and others of like kind are evidence that the present mourning regulations are fixed anyhow and are entirely dependent upon social custom. There is no principle to be expounded; there is no beacon to be kept in view. All is upside down and confused. Not a single thing is right. The pecuniary waste need not be mentioned; but besides this the vexations are very difficult to bear. I had thought of selecting a set of mourning rules which would meet people's desires, be reasonable, and serve as a standard, but I could not find any. My energies were spent in vain, and I suffered unlimited trouble and exasperation. For this reason I was naturally disposed to bring about the curtailment of the mourning period, and to establish that during this shorter period clothes of no matter what material might be worn—whether cotton, silk, satin, woven, flannel, crape; only a black crape band should be worn to conform to the new ceremonial rules of the Republic. Thus we should have our 'mourning regulations'!

"The above is the record of the origin and explanation of my adopting the short mourning-period.

"I have set forth in detail the changes I have undergone in my views of mourning ceremonial, not with any idea of maintaining that all the changes I have made are right, nor would I venture to exhort all my fellow-nationals to follow my example. My object was only to set forth my experiences and feelings arising from an examination of one of the most dreadfully distressing events of my whole life; to indicate the parts most needing reform in the present mourning ceremonial, and the trend they will most probably assume in the future. And now I will finish by setting down a summary of my general conclusions.

"General conclusions. Progress among people living together in societies may generally be classified as of two chief kinds. One is the simple changing into the complex,

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as, for example, the increase in written characters. The other is the complex changing into the simple, as, for example, the relaxation in ceremonial rites. People of modern times, accepting the formula 'from simple to complex, from chaos to order,' regard the secret of progress as completely contained in it, but though it goes without saying that change from the simple to the complex is unquestionably one kind of progress, from the complex to the simple is also one of the main roads of progress. Thus, for example, written characters gradually increase in number, yet literary construction gradually becomes simple. Compare English with Greek or Latin literature. The progress is in increasing simplicity. Chinese literature also shows traces of gradually becoming simpler. In olden times the synonyms 吾 and 我 were distinct; 爾 and 汝 were distinct; 彼 and 之 were distinct. Now they have changed to 我, 你, 他; 我們, 你們, 他們. The subjective and objective, plural and singular, have become more uniform. Is not this great progress? In the literature of olden times, a two-year old horse was called 駒; a three-year old one 駣; an eight-year old one 駥. Also a horse six 尺 high was called 騋; one seven 尺 high 騏. These are very irregular transmutations. Now they have become simpler.

"I adduce these several distinctions as evidence that change from the complex to the simple is also progress. By further adducing the natural changes in ceremonial usages I shall have still more evidence in support of my argument. Let us try the experiment of asking a believing disciple of the Confucian religion to go through the ceremonial. Could he do it? Why could he not? Because people of olden times lived simply. Those half-ecclesiastical half-imperial gentlemen were well able to enjoy that farce of 'at each presentation guests and host bow one hundred times.' Later, when life became more complicated, no one had time to conform to this bowing-and-scraping, senseless, troublesome text. So, from of old until now, ceremonial rites have daily become simpler. Although there are some extremely conservative reactionaries, circumstances preclude a forcible return to the 'golden age' formality, of the '300 usages of ceremony and the 3,000 modes

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of demeanour.' Thus, while the life of the society has become more complex it has made progress. At the same time the rules of ceremony have become simpler. That is also progress. If, with our present method of living we were to think of returning to the time of wearing skins and drinking blood, of living in caves in the wilderness, we should certainly find it impossible; it is equally impossible for us to return from our present simpler methods to the kowing-and-scraping' and 'guests-and-host-one-hundred-bows' ceremonial of olden times.[1]

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(1) Stated in its briefest, unelaborated form the definition of progress is, undoubtedly, a change from the simple to the complex; but in adding that a change from the complex to the simple is also progress our Chinese scholar shows that he has failed fully to understand the process of evolution. To say that progress is a change from the simple to the complex and also a change from the complex to the simple, is obviously self-contradictory. If, for example, a simple primitive village gradually changes until it becomes the very complex aggregate known as Moscow, that is progress—a process of evolution. But if Moscow is burned, if the complexity of palaces, churches, etc., etc., is reduced to simple ashes—that cannot rightly be called progress or evolution; it is its opposite—it is dissolution.

Wherein, then, lies the fallacy? In saying that increasing simplicity in ceremonial observances is "also progress," our Chinese scholar fails to make an all-important distinction. He does not see that in the one case it is a question of the evolution of the *social aggregate or nation*, in the other of the evolution of the *ceremonial*. In passing from complexity to simplicity the *ceremonial* is undergoing a process not of evolution but of dissolution. Apart from this, the social aggregate or nation (of which the ceremonial is a structural part) may at the same time (or at any other time) be evolving, stagnating, or dissolving.

I need not here go further than this; but to make the point quite clear it may be as well to add that societies which are throwing overboard waste matter in the shape, for example, of useless ceremonial observances may be, and generally are, in a state of progression, of evolution, of change from simplicity to complexity, from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to definite, coherent heterogeneity. But they are not necessarily so, as, for example, in the case of Bolshevism at the present day, which is abolishing all ceremonial customs whilst dissolving society into its primitive simple elements. But a social aggregate may well be evolving though it is discarding its superfluous ceremonial. England has evolved from the time, say, of the abolition of feudalism until the middle of the nineteenth century, though it abolished most of the elaborate

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"When once we grasp this reasoning we can discuss the reform of ceremonial customs, including that of mourning ceremonial.

"Put simply, my view of the problem of mourning rites is as follows:—

"1. The present ceremonial is much simpler than that of ancient times. This is the natural trend of events; it cannot be called retrogression. In future the life of the society will become more complex; but mourning ceremonial should become simpler.

"2. The defects of the present mourning ceremonial do not consist in not observing the ancient ceremonial usages, but in the fact that many useless rituals handed down from olden times have not been completely eradicated. If we no longer adopt the 'sleep on straw with a clod for a pillow' ceremonial it is not an evil; but to speak of ourselves in

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ceremonial of the middle ages. A social aggregate may become increasingly complex and progressive though parts of its structure are, as they become unnecessary to its evolution, retrogressing or dissolving—changing from complexity to simplicity.

It seems necessary, having regard to the references in the text, to add a word on the much-misunderstood matter of the evolution of language. One of the elements of evolution is integration. Whilst becoming more heterogeneous and definite, language (where it is progressing) is undergoing a process of integration: in the number of subordinate propositions which accompany the principal one; in the various complements to subjects and predicates; and in the numerous qualifying clauses—all of them united into one complex whole—many sentences in modern compositions exhibit a degree of integration not to be found in ancient ones. And the best writers show by the absence of the "florid style" and superfluous phrases often to be seen in earlier literature that they have thrown overboard much useless matter, in the same way that people of modern times have in the matter of ceremonial social intercourse.

Finally, it is not a complete (nor even a partial) truth to say that a return to earlier forms (primitive usages and beliefs) is "impossible." Unfortunately, evolution may be, and often is, undone by dissolution. (Eventually all evolution is so; or rather, the changes seem to be rung eternally on evolution and dissolution.) The student of philosophy (who "looks before and after and sees the end from the beginning," and is consequently more competent than others to interpret the changes going on around him) is regretfully obliged to conclude that humanity as a whole is now retrogressing. But that is a large subject not to be adequately dealt with in a foot-note.

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'straw-clod-unconscious' phraseology embodies the evil of falsity. Again, with regard to the ceremonial by which sons in mourning for their parents adopt all sorts of severe self-oppressive ritual—'nothing must enter their mouths for three days—without a staff they cannot rise:' and so must use the mourning staff: when people of the present time do not follow these barbarous customs it is a great step in progress, it is not an evil of any sort; only for 'filial sons' to continue to use the mourning staff is to act hypocritically.

"3. In the present mourning ceremonial there is still another great defect. It is that, although in some districts the severe ceremonial observances of ancient times have been abolished, in others there have been added a lot of superstitious, useless, or barbarous customs, such as 'hell,' 'heaven,' 'transmigration as a result of actions in a previous state of existence,' etc., and so there have become attached to the mourning ceremonial priests to recite canons, to pray for the lost souls of the dead, at the head of the coffin is placed the 'accompany the body lamp,' Buddhist rites are performed to 'defeat the powers of hell,' to 'drain the lake of blood,' and like superstitious practices.

"4. Now that we are discussing reform in the mourning rites we should begin by taking action in two ways. First we should thoroughly eradicate all useless forms transmitted to us by the old ceremonial. Then we should completely eradicate all the savagery and superstition added during subsequent generations. When these two kinds of reformatory work have been accomplished, then only shall we have a mourning ceremonial nearer to human feelings and more suitable to the conditions of our modern life.

"5. If we wish to carry through the work of accomplishing these two kinds of reform, what kind of standard are we to adopt? After careful thought I have been forced to the conclusion that there is no completely appropriate one. There is only a compromise, and that is the three words 爲什麼, 'Why?' Whenever we undertake anything, whenever we perform any ceremonial, we must always ask ourselves: 'Why

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are we doing this thing?' 'Why should we perform this ceremonial?' (as, for example, the 'dotting of the tablet' mentioned above).

"If we can in every act find the 'Why?' we naturally shall be unwilling to follow the various mean customs for which we cannot assign a reason. If in everything we neglect to ask the reason for our conduct, then our conduct is based on meaningless custom. That is the conduct of the lower animals. It is shameless conduct."

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THE EARLIEST ARTICULATE CHINESE PHILOSOPHER, KWAN-TSZ[1]

(350 *years junior to Solomon, one generation senior to Solon*)

BY

E. H. PARKER

Although this man was in a sense a reformer, and based his system upon the traditional wisdom of the ancient sages and kings, he seems to be the very first of what may be called the articulate Chinese philosophers, as he is certainly the first to apply clear principles to the definite and practical work of organised government. As Confucius himself frequently speaks of Kwan-tsz with respect, and at the same time with reserve—as though certain defects in his character had to be condoned—this fact both tends to prove that our philosopher's lessons had been circulated over the Chinese federation of states for many generations before Confucius' death in 479 B.C., and also partly explains the circumstance that for two thousand years past all succeeding dynasties have ignored Kwan-tsz from an official point of view, whilst at the same time paying ready attention to the rival claims of Confucius, Laocius and Buddha. In the *Manchester University Review*

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for July, 1906, the early rivalry of Confucius and Laocius was discussed, with evidences, in a paper entitled "The Parting of the Ways"; but here it may be added that both of these teachers repeat, sometimes in the original words but oftener in modified phraseology, so much of Kwan-tsz's sermonising that it seems quite plain they must have been a casual twain amongst those numerous officials and scholiasts at the various federal capitals who habitually received documents from other courts, including Kwan-tsz's court, to be stowed away for reference in their own local archives: the reasonableness of this suggestion is vouched for by the fact that both Confucius (specifically) and Laocius (inferentially) declare themselves to be "not originators but transmitters" of thought.

The leading feature in Kwan-tsz as contrasted with Confucius is his insistence upon the supreme rights of the people, and the necessity for the ruling classes to subordinate their personal and family ambitions to popular requirements and approval. For this political reason, apparently, the literary excellences and original expressions only of our philosopher's writings have been transmitted uncensored, so to speak, in thesaurus, dictionary, or encyclopædia; but few if any connected administrative extracts are recorded for reference; few if any compliments are paid by èmperors to the man's genius; it would almost seem as though the Government, age by age, has preferred to keep the book and the interpretation thereof in its own hands, just as the interpretation of the Bible as a connected whole is in some Western lands considered safer in the hands of professed priests than left with its occasional surprises to shock the uninstructed imaginations of the *mobile vulgus*. Before recounting the circumstances under which this remarkable adviser of the seventh century before Christ delivered persistent sermons before his reigning lord and master, I propose to take first one specific subject—to wit, the qualities to be aimed at by a prince who really wishes to govern successfully: the words forming each sentence, as the complete sentences themselves, are as nearly as possible literal translations; but they have been rescued from the scattered positions in which they occur

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and regrouped so as to form an abstract whole, independently of the specific practical matters under discussion or illustration. It is as though one should take a volume of Mr. Gladstone's speeches and excise for regrouping all sentences specifically mentioning parliamentary procedure.

. . . . . .

The exclusive prince, like a woman who recommends herself, does not succeed; he must have friends; words and acts that do not bear repetition are out of place in a ruler. Do things in time, and show good example to those below. Rule depends on other things than killing and punishing, just as security depends upon other things than stone walls and strong positions; so, again, does wealth depend on other things than mere light taxation. It does less harm to keep back a good man than to promote a bad one; it is better to starve a horse than to pamper a tiger. On the other hand, a minister must be kind, as well as able; he should be genial without being obsequious. Good example is the way to attract loyal services. To secure a docile people the fewer demands, ordinances and prohibitions the better—*i. e.*, if you desire to succeed and not to provoke antagonism; at the same time over-tenderness is as much an enemy of the people as system and law are their cherishing parent. A good prince, though above the law, yet lives within his own laws, if only to show a good example; he knows what is needful and what is harmful: on the other hand, a weak prince is certain to have internal strife to deal with. A good prince should begin step by step and develop *tao*[1] (*i. e.*, "the way" of nature) in his own person.

On one occasion the reigning prince confessed to Kwan-tsz his personal weaknesses for hunting, strong drink and women; but the philosopher, whilst, of course, deploring these lapses, distinctly said: Well, well! Anything but a *weak*

(1) *Tao* will be specifically treated of in the final pages; in modern times *tao-têh*—*i. e.*, the right way and its effects—is an expression often used to denote "religion" or "right feeling" of any kind, Christian, Chinese, or other.

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prince! Returning to the main point, he went on to say that it was no duty of a prince to wallow in detail; he should confine himself to general principles, and must in any case always be clear, remembering at the same time that prince and minister are correlative, the one protecting and the other suggesting; when due care is taken to define matters with precision, the people will not go wrong in their *tao*. A prince should never attempt to teach his ministers how to conduct their own departments; it is no business of his to be smart, nor must he allow personal feelings to affect his official judgment. On the other hand, ministers must not meddle with the prince's prerogative: distinctions in status should be carefully observed, and thus a good prince connotes good officials; the true *tao* principle governing such matters is that ministers should ascribe any virtue manifested in their own conduct to their immediate liege, just as the vassal prince credits the King (or, later, Emperor), and the King or Son of Heaven in turn credits Heaven; in each case instead of sounding their own commendation. The same principle applies to son and father, and also to ordinary individuals in their attitude towards seniors and governors; the sacred, the successful, and the illustrious rulers of ancient times, were, in short, precisely those who best perceived and act upon this *tao*.

Eavesdroppers and rogues should be kept at a distance, as should females and discarded parasites; also fussy busybodies sedulously "carrying out orders," and either getting in bad officers in place of good ones or shifting good ones without cause. The prince and his people may be compared with the heart or mind in relation to the body, the latter receiving the impulses communicated by the former. Blame yourself rather than others when misunderstandings occur, and remember that the common people invariably detect hidden worth in the long run: it is not the mere fact that the people *say* you have faults that creates your existing faults, nor need you ask your own family to corroborate what the people say; thus we see how our kings of old always had a wholesome dread of popular opinion: no man who blames himself as

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T'ang[1] did need fear blame by others. There is no such thing as perpetual law and order; it all depends on whether the rulers are good or bad; if they indulge too freely in gambling, hunting, dalliance, and gadding about, the Government goes awry, and punishments become cruel: good ministers advise for the common weal, and say: Accept me or drop me. Wise action and wise words enrich the State and strengthen its military power. Act boldly in times of peril; even if, on the actual spot or in the ruler's presence you interpose objection and feel bound to disapprove, still you can continue to furnish him with your covert assistance in the background: the main point is to advise firmly and yourself accept responsibility for your royal or princely master's error, as the case may be. Be sparing in eating and drinking. The minister without *tao* is obsequious and office-seeking, just as the good one is quite indifferent in respect to these features of conduct. The corrupt minister uses his influence to traffic in favours; he degrades his office in order to secure riches; he allows all blame to settle on the prince, and whilst approving to his face, objects or thwarts behind his back: he winks at evil, but is severe with virtue; he indulges in feasting and deep drinking; delights in innovation at the cost of fixed precedent; he consorts with cliques, and leaves his prince to bear all censure unsupported.

The prince may be compared with the heart or mind, and his ministers with the seven (eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and two relief) orifices; if the heart goes *tao*, these all mechanically go *tao* too. *Tao* represents the restful heart or the prince, whilst activity of movement is for ministers, just as it is for horses, birds, etc., employed in service: in a word, exactly as the prince is the heart, so are the eyes and ears the *kwan*[2] or "functionaries" of seeing and hearing. But there are many things a good prince must eye warily; for instance, a bad

(1) Founder, 1760 B.C., of the dynasty whose royal names have not only been confirmed, but *corrected*, by the bone inscriptions dug up in A.D. 1898 on the actual site of that dynasty's capital.

(2) This word *kwan*, 官, usually translated "mandarin," also signifies the "senses," the "five *kwan*" meaning sight, hearing, smelling, tasting and thinking; thus the "*kwan* of sight."

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employé thinks more of himself than of the State, and he hangs round the ministers ten times for each single time he seeks the ruler's good graces; this feature of private personal interests takes innumerable forms. There should in State matters be no two supreme masters and no two decisive wills; there should be strict loyalty and no chicanery: a good master should beware of "cunning words and smirking faces."[1] A parasite ruler is in every sense quite opposite in principle to the *tao* of government. The wise prince does not refrain from indulgence in pleasures and gratifications because he is not fond of them, but in order to spare his people; *per contra*, he does not actually like[2] giving his private substance away to the deserving or refusing pardons to the undeserving; he does both out of correct policy; his general attitude should be one of calm expectancy.

The attainments to be aimed at by the ruler of any state are, in the main, wealth and power, the object being to keep the other vassal states in their proper relative places, and to instil into neighbouring governments a wholesome respect; in this way the subordinate states or powers will not venture to trespass on royal prerogative, even though they may be disappointed with the share of favour falling to them. Naturally the aims of an incompetent *dominus* are the reverse of all this: just as the mountain's height and majesty are formed from an aggregate of innumerable lumps of stone and clod, so is the illustrious ruler's prestige constructed out of the individual men working under him. An individual who starves himself never gets fat nor does a man who is too sensitive to reproaches ever get wise. A foolish ruler wishes to show himself off personally and exclusively instead of quietly availing himself of other men's talents. The sovereign should secure both love and fear, and should make sure of the people's sympathy by himself showing sympathy with them; for subject inevitably returns tit-for-tat in kind to ruler, just

(1) The quotation is from the ancient *Book of History*, of course before Confucius recast it. Confucius in his Analects also quotes these four words.

(2) *Cf.* Dr. Johnson's "Why, sir, I have not a *passion* for clean linen myself."

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as child returns it to parents, being an equivalent for what they respectively get. A wise prince never expects the impossible, quite contrary to what the foolish one does. The intelligent ruler may be compared with the sun, and evil ministers with irregular bodies obstructing the sun's light; but to attempt rule without the agency of properly inspired ministers is like a woman offering herself in wedlock without the aid of a go-between or (*cf.* Russian) *svakha*. High-minded statesmen will retire into privacy rather than serve under a master who exhibits too great a conceit of himself, or who appears to barter away rights and dignities in order to fill his own private coffers. Nor should the prince lend an ear to cliques, or intrigues will surely follow. He should not waste too much time or money on shows and entertainments, nor give encouragement to courtiers and flatterers—not to say sycophants who disguise his own faults from him. Let him follow nature and go on ever improving. An intelligent prince cannot easily be hoodwinked, for he understands his own craft; contrarily to what happens in the case of a stupid prince, who falls a victim to his ministers' craft: these folk never love so much as they fear the intelligent ruler who defeats their scheming; it is he who holds the whip-hand and compels their service by his own power to grant or to punish; for he must always have punishments in hand wherewith to terrorise as well as rewards in hand wherewith to encourage: in other words, his staff of servants will be actuated more by a desire to avoid evil consequences and secure advantages to themselves than by any affection for him; whereas it is only a parasite ruler who leaves the power of life and death in the hands of his own subjects: it means his own ruin if he hand over effective power to them.

A perspicuous ruler should welcome exact information from all quarters, for all rulers cannot but wish to utilize the full powers of their people; but if his prestige be derived in the name of as well as through those subordinate to him, then the prince is no longer master; he may be blocked in—so to speak—morally, yet without any visible restraint being placed upon him. He must not share his power; there should be no

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double practice and no dual rule; let him set a policy and stick to it, and then he will find the people neither angry nor grateful, but accepting the regular order of things. If the prince himself be good, his officers' task will be all the easier; moreover there should only be one standard for rich and poor alike. Bad results invariably follow from lending an ear to doubtful asseverations of fact, and from advancing incompetent men; the same evil results follow from acting on mere popular praise and blame. A rogue insensibly ruins a prince who is not wary, and an unwary prince is easily misled.

Every ruler desires wealth, distinction, and a long reign, coupled with obedience to his behests; he hates deceivers and encroachers upon his prerogatives; he dreads to lose his realm and to witness the extinction of his ancestral shrines. Of course every loyal minister wishes to second his master in all this, but finds himself continually hampered by rogues, to whose crooked advice an incompetent ruler too often lends a ready ear: hence cabals, desertion of the prince, and currying of these rogues' favour; hence also, as we have said, ten visits to a rogues' council for every one visit to the prince's court. Under a good prince there are sound appointments to office, whilst under a bad prince there is a general grab for good things. All excellent soldiers and statesmen are in vain if the prince himself be a bad one. Under a good prince ministers forget their own personal interests and keep their proper places in their anxiety to serve, whilst under a weak prince there is a general competition for rival advantages. Appointments should be for the good of the country, and not for that of individuals, emoluments being graded accordingly; whereas under an incompetent prince all is jobbery for friends. A good prince applies his own tests in military as in civil cases, whereas a bad prince appoints on mere recommendation without making any tests at all. Good service is what really matters, both to the security of the ruler and the prosperity of his people—that is to say, in civil matters, the protection of wealth, the encouragement of effort, the raising of revenue, the repairing of the prince's blunders, the offering of prudent advice and the getting rid of concealment. Rewards should

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be automatical and not a matter of caprice, life and death resting on the prince's power, and the distinction always being clearly marked between that and the subjects' power.

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The circumstances under which the above principles were reiterated over a period of forty years were these. China[1] then still consisted of the Yellow River valley, the river itself then, as now, practically unnavigable and subject to disastrous floods. Almost nothing is known of the earlier dynasties, though there is no reason to suppose that social life and moral principles differed much from those developed and placed on permanent record by the new dynasty of 1122 B.C.; this adopted a new or modified policy of enfeoffing family relatives and military supporters in semi-independent principalities, all of which touched the Yellow River at some point, and around these principalities were grouped the petty republics which had in remoter times done duty and service, according to custom and tradition, to the central King or Emperor. During four hundred years (1100–700) of rule, inter-state commerce, population, colonisation, means of written communication, and progress generally had made remarkable advance; of details we know little, but the chief feature was that the Kings had grown inefficient, whilst their score or more of chief lieges had correspondingly developed practical independence. Notwithstanding, they were all pretty firm and loyal upon one point, and that was in recognising the Kings as spiritual superiors, holding the key to ritual, possessing the ancient power to recognise successions, confirm titles, and so on. Kwan-tsz, whose wits had already been sharpened by engaging in inter-state trade, was recommended by one of his old trade partners (then political adviser to the wealthiest of the competing states) for the post for which he himself felt insufficiently competent. Happily for his own interests, the reigning

(1) No territorial-ethnological name ever existed; the peoples forming articulate China, inarticulate China, and the cognate tribes more hostile than even inarticulate, all put together formed "the world"; just as, in a sense, the Egyptian "Empire" and the various editions of the Mesopotamian "Empire" each formed a "world" for the populations.

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Marquess accepted this advice, and the new mentor, once installed, set himself to work to develop an entirely new idea. This idea was to develop military and economical power persistently on such lines as to force the rival great powers to moderate their separatist ambitions and continue the performance of their ancient duties towards the King. His policy was one of benevolent force or *pa* 霸—a word meaning "dominancy"—and he was quite successful in creating for his own master this dominant position, which definitely rescued China from Tartar invasion in the north and from the rival Imperial schemes of the less orthodox half-Chinese colonies in the south. How this originally excellent idea of altruistic *pa*, or "Protector to the King," developed in later ages into a contest for a new kind of dynastic *pa* or seizure of universal Empire forms no part of our present scheme, which is simply to show how definite political philosophy began in China; how Kwan-tsz's teachings unwittingly led to the abolition of the old feudal Kings and the creation of a universal *pa* or Imperial Centralised State; and how Laocius and Confucius extracted from the same sources as those open to Kwan-tsz two rival philosophies:[1] both of the first-named vague preachers have had quite a continuous influence upon Chinese thought, whilst the more intelligible and practical Kwan-tsz has been ignored. I now proceed to give an account of *tao*, 道, or "the way" of nature, which is stated by all three philosophers to be the basis of their teaching, but the spirit of which they all three in effect equally admit was traditionally handed down from the mysterious old "ancient kings" or spiritual Emperors, of whom, however, we really know nothing definite.

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In his first chapter Kwan-tsz descants upon the *tao* to be observed in relation to homestead, village, state or empire, using much the same language as that employed one hundred and fifty years later by Laocius: this *tao* must be permanent and not fitful, and must work by natural (*t'ien*, or Heaven's)

(1) See "Parting of the Ways" in *The Manchester University Review* for July, 1906.

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laws: it is as necessary for rulers as for ruled, for we cannot all be distinguished men, and hence there is a *tao* (natural sense or reason) in the mere fact of any personal differences in capacity and status existing. It is also consistent with *tao* that there should be wealth, for the accumulation of wealth connotes the reduced necessity of making further demands upon the people. In his second chapter Kwan-tsz discusses the unchangeable and eternal nature of that *tao* which has from the beginning formed the guiding principle of rule: in this connection it is interesting to note what Laocius says after a century or more of further experience—namely, that it is only when the "great *tao*" becomes effete that such artificial ideas as charity, justice, knowledge and cleverness—all denoting inequality, or a departure from nature—begin to take possession of men's minds. The fourth chapter has whole sentences that might have been copied from Laocius' book, but which, on the contrary, must have tended to inspire the latter to write that book: for instance, the "holy man," or natural-born ruler of men, armed with his full quality and experience, always maintains *tao* in his general behavior; *tao* is all-pervading, all-embracing, all-affecting; *tao-têh*, 道德, is, or are, invariable and everlasting; *tao* is what the sun is in heaven and what the heart is in man—*i. e.*, the source of life and mental activity. Legality (*fah*, 法[1]) derives from principle (*li*, 理), and principle, from order (*chï*, 秩); principle plus order are, in fact, *tao;* wherever the *tao* of heaven exists, it must prevail over a condition of things where there is no such *tao* of heaven. The fifth chapter explains specifically how this *tao* effect operated in 1100 B.C., when the founder of the new dynasty (to which China has owed and still owes her articulate refinement and moral strength) prevailed over the old dynasty (as to which we have practically no information whatever beyond the fact that the recently exhumed bone inscriptions absolutely prove the truth of its existence as recorded in the most ancient Chinese history): the above-mentioned founder

(1) It is necessary that I should give the original Chinese words for the benefit of those who know Chinese and naturally wish to see the exact point in each case.

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prevailed because, as King, he ruled by *tao*; but then (adds Kwan-tsz), the word *tao*, implying "the *right* way," can also be used in the crude or original sense of "the *way*," as, for instance, the way *not* to govern.

If the prince fail in his *tao*, then the great ministers tend to excessive authority. Heaven's *tao* has its phases, for when it has reached its acme it returns, and at the full it begins to weaken; like the movements of the sun and the moon respectively, so the governing system or maintaining of order for the Empire. The whole subject is thoroughly worked out in this chapter, which may, indeed, as above suggested, be the basis or another part of the basis, upon which Laocius' speculations are founded.

The sixth chapter recurs to the subject from other points of view; thus the superior or cultured man (*kün-tsz*, 君子), may be said to feed or subsist on *tao* just as the clown (*siao-jên*, 小人), feeds or subsists on his labour. A state can no more dispense with *tao* than individuals can dispense with desires or objects in life; the great thing is to lead the people along the *tao* when you have it yourself, and to utilise men of first-class capacity (*hien*, 賢), when you have secured them; thus it is impossible for any state to get along satisfactorily without *tao*. The following clear definitions are specially interesting as having been made before the new title of *hwang-ti* (皇帝), or "August Emperor," was substituted towards the close of the third century B.C. for the simple *wang* (王), or "King," both having inherent in them the supreme title of "Son of Heaven." Kwan-tsz says: "the one who discerns Unity is *hwang*, and he who can detect *tao* is *Ti*; he who is well acquainted with *têh* (*i.e.*, the result of *tao*) is the King (*wang*), and the military strategist is the Protector (*pa*); *tao* and *têh*, being immeasurable, are not altogether inconsistent with a vigorous military policy; *tao* is to harmonise (*ho*, 和) and *têh* is to unite (*hoh*, 合) the people." All this strongly savours of Laocius and the great military[1] writers, Sun-tsz

(1) In the *Asiatic Review* for July last I have contributed a paper exclusively dealing with the quasi-Prussian military *Kultur* of Kwan-tsz,

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(sixth century B.C.) and Fan Li (fifth century B.C.). However, in the next or seventh chapter Kwan-tsz advises the Duke[1] that the view of *tao* taken by the wise kings of old did not contemplate military *rivalry*, and in the eighth chapter he explains that the really good ruler develops *tao* in his own person (see back). The tenth chapter continues the lesson or sermon on *tao* and *têh*, and lays down the principle that the fewer the words used the better; just *conduct* results in the people ceasing to stand in bewilderment as to the real meaning of *tao*, which is only another way of saying that they are "roaded" or "guided along the road" by their superiors; hence *tao* and *têh* derive from the prince whose ministers execute his pleasure, and the *tao* is thus completed. A prince with *tao* abides by the Law, whilst a prince without *tao* evades the Law. *Tao* gives birth or life to man, and is thus born in man, not placed in him afterwards; the sacred kings and perspicuous princes of old were men expert in understanding *tao*, which is formless, and not based on anything (*hü shêh*, 虛設, "emptily set-up"): *tao* on a great and kingly scale, and also on a lesser or princely scale, signifies in reference to these rulers that they possess the respective means to rule each one his particular state. The eleventh chapter returns to the subject, showing how *tao-têh* are fixed by those above in such wise that the people below are unconsciously regenerated; but a perspicuous ruler's *tao* always keeps within the prescription (*fah*) and does not swerve (*a*, 阿)[2] from it; and it is here once more asserted, as in the sixth chapter, that *tao* nourishes the cultured individual in the same sense that his

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and I have alluded to Dr. Lionel Giles' translation of the book of *Sun-tsz*, with its preface by Earl Roberts. The agricultural, economical, spiritual, and other of Kwan-tsz's philosophies will be dealt with separately on some future occasion.

(1) All vassal states were ruled by what, for convenience' sake, we translate as dukes, marquesses, earls (counts), viscounts, or barons owing fealty to the *wang*, or king; but whatever their status when living, they were all *posthumously* "dukes" by courtesy—*i.e.*, if they were civilized enough to fall under the dynastic posthumous law.

(2) A popular proverb runs to-day: *Lao T'ien puh a* (老天不阿), "Good old Heaven shows no favour or swerve."

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bodily labour nourishes the common man. Kwan-tsz at this point mentions a lesson he learnt from an individual who cannot be identified, but who was apparently the ruler or the minister of one of their minuscule subordinate fiefs visited during the Duke's career of *pa* or dictatorial conquest: this lesson was to the effect that *tao*-less princes indulged in luxury whilst ignoring really good men, thus failing themselves to adhere to the natural law (*t'ien-tao*), spending their time in gaming, dalliance, hunting, and careering about. He goes on himself to say that the minister without *tao* is office-seeking and obsequious, whilst exposing his prince to the brunt of any blame that may be attachable to the course of affairs. Cultured *tao* is that of the ancient kings, who were careful in their observance of what was due to the spirits of the hills and rivers, to the ancestral shrines, and to the local deities or gods of the soil (*shê-tsih*, 社稷). The next chapter suggests other borrowings by the later Laocius, when it is shown how the world of today is but the same world, though degenerate, as that of ancient democratic times, when no government was required, and when men lived in happy indifference to "rights" and "property";[1] the moral of it, however, is that the *tao* of heaven and earth, or of nature, must be followed as conditions and circumstances demand.

The thirteenth chapter shows metaphorically how the Heart, or prince, and the Nine Orifices, or ministers, are inevitably correlated in their *tao*, which must therefore never fail at the calm and restful top in such wise as to cause injury to the changeful subordination below; for *tao* is motionless and unemotional, whilst the regeneration and training of all human beings (*wan-wuh*, 萬物) is *têh*: human relations, as, for instance, those between prince and subject or father and son, fall under the head of right or justice (*i*, 義), whilst distinctions of class come within what is termed rite or religious observance (*li*, 禮). These definitions of Kwan-tsz are important, for one

(1) A state of affairs vividly recalling Don Quixote's *siglos dichosos* as sketched by him for the benefit of the gaping goat-herds over a dessert of free acorns—but after first devouring their bread and cheese with good appetite.

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hundred and fifty years later, as we have seen in discussing Chapter ii, Laocius denounced these two artificialities of Confucius' modern refinement. Kwan-tsz goes on to say that a wise man does not either check natural inclinations or deny people innocent and useful disliking privileges; it is a mistake to be capricious and changeable in such matters, for a prince should be calm and ready to adapt himself to circumstances. The *tao* of the supremely cultured man (*shêng-jên*, 聖人) is like life, in the sense that it is invisible as it comes and goes; and both he and the man enjoying the next highest degree of culture (*kün-tsz*) know how to utilise things and circumstances rather than become a creature of them. Set in motion what is right, quietly, in a timely way, and administratively; if it be done harmoniously, it will endure: do not seek any advantage if not conformable, as above indicated, with your *tao;* in the first place follow Heaven, then follow Man, and ask yourself the reasons for and the nature of what you do. Nature produces everything in its due time, and it cannot be distorted; hence the wise man quietly awaits natural results. *Tao* is never in excess for the purposes of one single unit, and never falls short for the purposes of all units: no oracle is ever required to inform you what is and what is not contrary to *tao. Tao* is as big as Heaven and as broad as Earth, as heavy as a stone and as light as a feather.

The fourteenth chapter develops the qualities-of-water theory, the lowliness of its level being "the house of *tao* and the instrument of rulers"—a theory of some of the Greek philosophers. Rulers' commands must be governed by Heaven's *tao*, or by the circumstance and season; only the man of the highest culture (*shêng-jên*) understands the *tao* of the four seasons, the *têh* of the stars, the year, the bearing of the planets (*ch'ên*), and the moon. *Tao* begets Heaven and Earth, and *têh* begets the sage (*hien-jên*); and it must be remembered that the ancient dynasties found it necessary to shift their spring-time, though *tao* itself is traced as far back as *Hwang-ti* (2697–2597 B.C.), whom later generations follow, for nature never runs contrary to season. *Tao* may be defined as natural harmony, and covers amongst other things the

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abstention from destroying immature existence, whether it be of living or of vegetating creatures; in the same way it demands that punishments must fit the crime, be definite, and not liable to capricious change. With a ruler who can use *tao* there is no worry, and things automatically go right.

The fifteenth chapter once more defines *tao* as natural harmony; with a ruler capable of utilising it, effort and anxiety are unnecessary, as things always right themselves in the end. Law or legal administration (*fah*) is *tao* in its supreme (*chï*) sense. Ever since the world began all heavenly bodies have been unfailing in their movements, and thus a State of law and order means one where the ruler's *tao* is conspicuously clear. The sixteenth chapter discusses the unspeakability of *tao* quite in the style of Laocius' book, of the well-known but apocryphal Taoist *Yin-fu* "classic," and even of Mencius (fourth century B.C.), when he discusses the "absence of motion" (*pu-tung*, 不動): this *tao* is invisible, born within us, inaudible, ineffable; is used in the heart or mind when its effects are visible; it is rootless, stalkless, leafless, and flowerless; yet things are born of or fructified by it. Kwan-tsz reproves the Duke for trying to get the better of (*shêng*, 勝) or to overpower his people instead of endeavouring to induce or regenerate (*hwa*, 化) them—the former a process which, he says, is certainly not the great *tao* of Empire, nor in accordance with a true princely ruler's motto.

It must and cannot but be noticed that there are numerous repetitions and variations of language in this philosophical treatise of Kwan-tsz: thus the seventeenth chapter gives us another version of the necessity for following "Heaven's time," and noting the duties appertaining to each season; the necessity for giving to young life full time to mature, and so on; in fact, the "game laws" clearly had a local inception in Kwan-tsz's mind, but always in the interests of natural life, and never in the interests of class privilege. Again, the consistency of *tao* with wealth discussed in the first chapter is repeated in the eighteenth, where the Duke desires to know if it is consistent with *tao* for him to keep what he possesses. "Yes," replies Kwan-tsz, "by all means take and keep what

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comes spontaneously or easily without incitement; but do not initiate the movement, and do not try to keep the acquisition of things on the move." The word *Ju*, 儒, usually translated "Confucianist," though apparently not used at all by Kwan-tsz himself, appears from other authors to have meant, in his time, "the educated class," or, as one native commentator has it, "those who can mentally penetrate the principles of Heaven and Earth"—as portrayed by Kwan-tsz himself in the nineteenth chapter. The twentieth chapter goes on to show how Heaven, Earth, and the seasons never change their *tao*; just as the archer has a "must-hit-the-target" *tao*, so the ruler has a "must-maintain-public-order" *tao*: repeating the language of the fifth chapter, the philosopher goes on to explain that it was precisely the possession of *tao* in his mind and action that enabled the founder (1120 B.C.) of the then (700 B.C.) comparatively new royal dynasty to overthrow its corrupt antecessor.[1] The mean man tries to crook or bend the true *tao* in order to conciliate his ruler, basely tendering surreptitious counsel with a view to attaining mean ends. Still, as a matter of fact, a ruler's subjects like to see him rich and distinguished, and, this being so, he should be careful always to practise *tao-tĕh*, and thus avoid disgusting his people, for Heaven and Earth are impartial to great and small in conferring their blessings. *Tao* is meat, raiment, and shelter; it regenerates everything; therefore the motto is "adhere to *tao*."

The last four chapters throw little new light upon the general conception of *tao* beyond giving us repetitions of views taken sometimes from other angles of vision: thus, the ruler of men, the lord of men, the king, the prince, are all alternately spoken of in such a way that it is evident the same divinity doth, in theory, hedge them all, and that *tao* doth, in theory at least, shape their ends, rough-hew them how they will; the prince should therefore follow nature; he stands for the fixity of heaven and earth, with or in relation to the four seasons;

(1) *I.e.*, the dynasty of which since 1898 we have definite first-hand documentary traces in the recently discovered bone and tortoise-shell inscriptions referred to on pp. 50, 60 of the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* for 1915–1916.

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but if the prince be so unwise as to play subject-*tao*, then the ministers or subjects will inevitably try to play prince's-*tao*: therefore each to his proper place or sphere. Then there is a *tao* as applied to regular revenue, filial duty, charitable institutions, and other special matters; "this perpetually-existing or universal *tao* (*t'ien-hia-chï-tao*, 天下之道) may be termed standard *tao* (*chun-tao*, 準道)." The mythical founder of Chinese civilization (2697–2597 B.C.) is said to have asked an adviser named Pêh-kao if it were *tao* to mould the Empire (*t'ien-hia*) into one family, to which query an equivocal answer was given; unfortunately the Taoist eccentric Chwang-tsz (fourth century B.C.) seems to be the only authority to mention this cautious adviser, and even then only in connection with the almost equally mythical Emperor Yao (2356–2256 B.C.): moreover, the idea of unifying the "Empire" savours of Kwan-tsz's own Protector times, and it is plain in any case from the place-names enumerated, as the Duke boasted of having carried his arms over the "whole Empire," that he was never for many successive days together one hundred miles from some part of the Yellow River, much of the left bank, and even parts of the right, being in Tartar occupation, notwithstanding that some of those Tartars may have accepted Chinese rank. When popular rumour, towards the end of the Duke's illustrious career, announced that a dragon had appeared, Kwan-tsz said, "By all means let us bruit the miracle abroad, for it is only the foolish who believe in and are swayed by supernatural beings (*kwei-shên*, 鬼神), whilst the knowing ones utilize them for their own prestige, and in order to set going the *tao* of the Empire" (the *t'ien-hia-chï-tao*, or universal *tao* just mentioned). It must be repeated here that, even in Confucius' time—*i.e.*, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years later than Kwan-tsz—there was yet no connected literature, no regular style, no logical method of expression, no syntax, prosody, or etymology: the intricate thoughts were there suggestively, and the historical facts subsequent to 841 B.C. are, in the main, true beyond all doubt; but the working or reproducing brain machinery was still inexpressive: man's brain seems, from recent

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anthropological discoveries, to have been as well developed and often as intelligent in remote prehistoric times as it is now, so far as intelligible speaking and efficient acting go; but the means of perpetuating and recording and reproducing thought were yet imperfect in most parts of the world as well as in China, and it was for later generations (500 B.C. to 200 B.C.), acquainted both traditionally, practically and by blood-inheritance with the names of persons (including descendants) and places (including tombs) to turn such of the short, jerky records and memoranda (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.) as had survived war and revolution into readable literature: subject to these qualifications, therefore, we may give the book *Kwan-tsz* a true bill, and credit China of the seventh century B.C. with his intellectual power and administrative capacity to apply that power.

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D'OLLONE'S INVESTIGATIONS ON CHINESE MOSLEMS

BY THE

REV. G. G. WARREN

A company of French gentlemen under the leadership of Commandant d'Ollone paid a lengthy visit to the west of China between the years 1906 and 1909 specially to investigate all that could be found out about the non-Chinese aboriginal tribes which are to be found in the west. A subsidiary matter of research was connected with Chinese Islam; indeed research was needed to show how far it was subsidiary—how far, that is to say, Chinese Moslems were pure-blooded Chinese. The results of the investigations are shown in nine large 8vo volumes published at Paris by E. Leroux. It was found that the matters concerning Chinese Moslems were easily detached from the main mass of material and these were published first in Vol. I of the series. This article is intended to summarise for English readers the information contained at large in the pages of the French volume, where good photographs and a few somewhat meagre maps are also to be found.

The divisions of the volume are in the main geographical. The three first parts (which are all that will be summarised here) deal respectively with the Moslems of Yünnan, Szechuan and Kansu. They are followed by a fourth part translating

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some interesting inscriptions and documents dealing with the Chinese conquest of the Mohammedans of Turkestan back in Chien Lung's reign (1757 and onwards). Part V has a few notes on Peking, Canton and other eastern places. Part VI has a very full summary of Chinese Moslem bibliography. A preliminary warning tells us not to expect three separate entities in the Islam of the three provinces. The arrangement of the material was simply due to the actual route of the Mission as it made its investigations. At the same time, this route enabled the observers to note provincial differences, *e.g.* that in Yünnan tombs were not venerated; in Kansu, they were. Except with a partial exception of Kansu, Chinese Mohammedanism was found to be wholly Hanefit. There were no traces of Sufiism or of any other sects.

Part I. The Moslems of Yünnan.

The work opens with a paragraph referring to the Great Rebellion of the Moslems (of Yünnan between 1855 and 1873 which almost succeeded in setting up a Moslem) realm and which was only put down with great difficulty and much bloodshed and moreover, even then, only because of a split in the Moslem ranks. Ma To-hsin and Ma Ju-ling left their co-religionists and joined their enemies, so that there was civil war between Moslem and Moslem.

The first feature that thrust itself on the travellers' notice after reaching Yünnan was the *isolation* of Yünnan Moslems. It was an isolation not only as regards the great centres of Islam; Yünnan Moslems have little to do with the Moslems of other Chinese provinces; nay, it goes even farther than that, it amounts to a congregationalism that isolates mosque from mosque. Further investigation modified the too rigid first impressions; but merely modified them, they were not contradicted.

The Moslems themselves acknowledge that they have no accurate statistics of the number of believers in the province. They roughly estimate them as being "thirty or forty thousand families," *i.e.*, perhaps, equivalent to from 200,000 to 250,000

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individuals. No attempt at accurate enumeration is for the present possible ; none is desired by the Moslems themselves.

The general architecture and arrangement of the mosque buildings corresponds in the main to that of ordinary Chinese temples, though, of course, the "mihrab" and "minbar" take the place of images and altars. Up to the close of the Manchu dynasty, there was always a tablet to the honour of the emperor. In Yünnan, this tablet was the first object that confronted the visitor on entering the door, an ostensible evidence of loyalty rendered necessary because of the associations of past rebellions.

There are no minarets. The Call to Prayer is made from the floor of the mosque.

Incense is always burnt, especially at the season of prayer. Questioned on this matter, the *ahong* (Mohammedan ministers) usually answered with some embarrassment that it was on account of the pleasant odour—an obviously evasive answer. Probably the Chinese converts at the beginning carried over this practice from their earlier religion. With but few exceptions it was found that the faithful were in the habit of burning incense before their ancestral tablets in their homes.

Discipline in the matter of ablutions is quite lax. M. Soulie reports in the *Revue du Monde Mussulman* (Oct., 1909) that he found in his travels, later than the Mission d'Ollone, that circumcision is rarely practised in Yünnan. The Mission had not the advantage of a Moslem scholar at first and hence enquiries were less full at the beginning than later. After leaving Szechuan it was found that circumcision was quite general.

Every Moslem has an Arabic as well as a Chinese name. In the matter of clothing there were no differences between Moslems and other Chinese.

In the mosques at the time of prayer, a special headdress is worn usually consisting of a cap and a turban. Although the *ahong* are privileged to wear green or blue turbans, as a matter of fact they usually content themselves with the ordinary white turban.

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It is not correct to say that Moslems can be distinguished by the type of countenance. The Yünnan population is a mixture of many differing aborigines and immigrants from widely separated provinces. There is a great variety of feature. Moslems exhibit equal variety with other Chinese. At the same time, there are occasionally Moslems who seem to show a trace of Arab feature which may be the result of Arab blood. Such features are not met with in the case of ordinary Chinese.

Several writers have commented on the practice that Moslems have of travelling about well armed. The Commandant's experience was that they were neither more nor less armed than other travellers while they were on the road, and that like others they laid aside their arms when not travelling.

Another observation that needs correcting is that the Moslems are buried in coffins. When being carried to the graves, the dead bodies are hidden under a coffin-cover, but this is removed at the actual interment (it has no bottom). The bodies are so buried that the face of the deceased is turned towards Mecca. The grave mounds are usually the same shape as those of other Chinese, though a few are modelled on graves to be seen in the Levant.

The great test of Moslem fervour lies in the abstinence from pork which is the usual flesh eaten by the Chinese. The restriction is rigidly observed by all Chinese Moslems, who are therefore debarred from attending the ordinary meals or special feasts of their neighbours. Properly, they should also abstain from spirituous liquors. This is not so entirely complied with as is the abstinence from pork. Most Moslems also abstain from opium and many from tobacco.

Outside the *ahong* very few have any knowledge of Arabic, and consequently there is only the most general knowledge of the tenets of the Koran. There is no organization of the clergy. Each *ahong* is engaged by a congregation, generally for a period of three years. They are wholly dependent on their congregation for support and acknowledge no superior. Their training, even, is a private matter. Any *ahong* can

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train pupils if his reputation is such as to enable him to get them. There is no Moslem church; there is merely a heap of Moslem parishes.

Nevertheless, it is obvious to even a passing observer that there is very complete unity in dogma and in ceremonies. At first there was no trace of schism observed in the mosques that were visited. Nevertheless, by the time the travellers reached Kansu, they had found traces of a considerable schism which had undoubtedly influenced even Yünnan. The information contained in the volume concerning this schism is of the first importance to students of Chinese Islam; but it is tantalisingly inadequate on the most important points and should rather stimulate further enquiry than satisfy those who wish to know what is the real difference between the "New" and the "Old" sects which are to be found in most parts of China.

The unity that exists is largely due to the fact that while the members do not read Arabic, the *ahong* do. Although there are blocks for printing the Koran in the province, they are not used, as it is cheaper and easier to procure such copies as are needed from the few pilgrims who journey to Mecca. The *ahong* show no desire to diminish their importance by getting the members generally to study Arabic.

One mark of the isolation of Yünnan Islam is the absence of venerated tombs. Even the *ahong* do not know of the custom and are scandalised when told about it, for they do not find such a practice in the Koran. Still more surprising is their ignorance concerning the Caliphate. They know only the four successors of the Prophet as Caliphs and if they have heard of the Sultan of Turkey it is merely as the most powerful Moslem sovereign. He has no religious supremacy over them.

One is inclined to ask whether this ignorance of the development of Moslem practices in history does not make the Yünnan Moslems more like the primitive community of the Faith. These facts give rather more credibility to the current legends of the early introduction of Islâm into China. Yet as soon as one begins to examine closely the legend that

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Mahomet's uncle actually brought the religion to Canton, there are difficulties. But such things as this may point to some historical basis for the legend. As far as Yünnan is concerned, there is no variation in the claim that in that part Mohammedanism owes its introduction to Seyyid Edjill Cham-ed-Din Omar, the first viceroy appointed to govern the province when it was conquered by the Mongols in 1274 A.D. Seyyid's son, Nasir-ed-Din, the Nescradin of Marco Polo, carried forward his father's work.

Amongst the Moslems there is no knowledge of any Moslem arrivals whether from Arabia or elsewhere, before the date of Seyyid Edjill's work. The authors discuss and are able to account for a statement in a contribution made by Dr. Bushell to the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal in which earlier evidence seemed to point to Moslems being already in Yünnan.

Over 180 pages of the work are taken up with the translation of sundry inscriptions and documents concerning Seyyid Edjill and a few other early Yünnan Moslems. These pages are of unique interest to the close student of Chinese Mohammedanism, but they are not worth summarising. Those who would profit by the documents need them *in extenso*, and they must refer to either the original Chinese or the excellent French translation that is to be found in the volume.

Part II. The Moslems of Szechuan.

There is comparatively little to add to the general notes that were given Part I on the Moslems of Yünnan. The evidence that there was at least one serious schism to be found in China grew as the travellers went forward.

It is estimated that there are some 700 mosques in Szechuan, of which twelve are to be found in Chengtu. According to their own rough numbering, there are 70,000 families, say 400,000 Moslems in the province. But these play a more important part amongst their co-religionists than their mere numbers would suggest. Nearly all the books on Islam that the Mission found in China were printed in Szechuan.

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Amongst the *ahong*, there were some of the best Arabic scholars and some knew Persian also. About 40 out of the 100 *ahong* met in Chengtu were really well educated.

The practices of Szechuan Moslems are far from orthodox. Very little regard is paid to abstinence from alcohol ; none (at least in private) to that from tobacco. There is general neglect of ablutions; the mosques are not provided with piscinæ, a mere bucket of water is all that the worshipper can obtain. Even the Friday prayers are poorly attended, still more so those on other days. Many burn incense before the ancestral tablets (the *ahong* do not). Moslem officials, who are numerous in the army, do not raise any objection to taking part in the worship in the official temples to the emperor, to Confucius and even to the god of War.

Still, they abstain rigorously from pork and are particular about the slaughter of such beasts as they do partake of. The children are sent to Moslem schools. Moslems are so proud of their faith that they do not class themselves with the ordinary Chinese, but rather with the Tartars, Sifan and others. This division is even made to apply to their descent from a different son of Noah than that of the ordinary Chinese. The fact that most of them can point to the actual ancestor who first embraced the Moslem faith does not prevent their holding that his ancestors were descended from Japhet but that he and they are from Shem. The filiation of faith is more important than that of flesh and blood.

Minarets are found in Szechuan, but the authorities forbid their proper use and the Call to Prayer is here also made from the floor. It is only in Kansu, where the Moslems are both more numerous and more independent that the minarets have their proper function. Prayer hats of varied colours were found ; but contrary to the expression of other writers on this subject, it was found that no significance whatever attached to the variations in colour. The turban swathing the hat was always white. (In Mr. Broomhall's *Islam in China* opposite p. 224 will be found some excellent photographs of these prayer hats, and of the turbans.)

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Chapter xvi is devoted to the Moslems of Sung-pan t'ing, a city which is situated in N. Lat. 32.41 and E. Long. 103.21, not far from the borders of Tibet, Kansu and Shensi, though actually in Szechuan. It is the meeting place of twenty differing races. Of its 10,000 inhabitants some 4,000 are Moslems. These hold a monopoly of the tea trade with the aborigines, the Tibetans and the Mongols. This monopoly was conceded to one Ma Yu-min of Chengtu some hundred and fifty years ago and until recently was retained in his family. But the family has now admitted four co-religionists into partnership. Many of the roads along which the tea travels are only open to Moslems. Three Salars were found in the city. They communicate with the Kansu houses they represent by caravans across the desert. The intercourse between the Moslems and the Tibetans has not led to the conversion of the latter. On p. 226 there is a photograph of the one Tibetan convert. We are told that he only goes to a mosque about twice a year, that he is well acquainted with Buddhist ceremonies and has been on pilgrimage to all the lamaseries. The zeal of the Moslems is very mediocre; indeed many of them have become Christians.

Part III. The Moslems of Kansu.

After leaving Sung-pan t'ing, we next come into contact with Moslems at Lhabrang, which is only 30 kilometres from the Kansu frontier. Lhabrang has a huge lamasery of 5,000 monks with a re-incarnated Buddha as their head. Many of its monks go to Peking for the great Lama temple there. A Chinese town of about 1,000 inhabitants has grown up some 800 metres from the lamasery. Almost all these are Moslems. It would seem that the lamas prefer them to ordinary Chinese. Although other Chinese worship idols as do the lamas, they also join in Confucian and Taoistic worship, and the rivalry of these cults causes more jealousy to the lamas than does the one God of the Moslems. Nevertheless, the lamas give no official sanction to the worship of the Moslems. There is indeed a mosque; but it is merely a hall in an ordinary building and outside it bears no distinctive mark. It is in a private

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house just like other private houses. There is no minaret and no roof ornamentation. The Moslems go in singly and with some caution, and never appear outside with their prayer hats on. Most of them have Tibetan wives who retain their religion as well as their garb and customs. One may imagine that the husband is not punctilious. In fact, cases of drunkenness are frequent. The children sometimes adopt the religion of the father, sometimes that of the mother. In one family, one son was a Moslem and one a lama. A Moslem who accompanied our travellers poured libations to the local spirits before he would drink his tea.

From Lhabrang to Hochow there were Moslems in most of the towns.

Hochow was called by Reclus the Mecca of China. It used to be wholly peopled by Moslems and boasted of 84 mosques. Today no Moslem is allowed to live inside its gates. But a huge suburb has grown up on the south side of the city, which is wholly given up to them. It is said to contain 10,000 families. The Commandant would halve this estimate. Hochow played a great part in both the Great Rebellion of 1864–1874 and in that of 1895; and each time, the imperial authority was re-established by diplomacy and not by actual fighting so that the Moslem buildings here have not been ruined as they have elsewhere.

In 1871, after Tso Tsung-t'ang had taken Kinkipu and Ninghiafu, and after the death of Ma Hua-lung, he was afraid that a new siege could only be made with difficulty. So he offered a complete amnesty to the people of Hochow. The only condition imposed was that thereafter they were forbidden to live inside the city and the mosques were turned into temples. That is the reason why the large Moslem population is now found in a suburb. This great revolt, as far as it affected Kansu, is hardly referred to in European works. Dabry de Thiersant only refers to Shensi and Turkestan; yet the principal theatre of the war was Kansu. Later on, our travellers reached the scene of the actual fighting; reference to this revolt is deferred till then. The 1895 revolt is also but little known. Hence the following account of the fighting is of interest.

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In 1895, the Salars of Shunhua t'ing (Shensi) rose against their official who had not only said that one Chinese was worth ten Moslems but had carried out the idea by putting ten Moslems to death for the murder of a Chinese subject. The Salars killed the official and raised a revolt which spread to Hochow and Sining, just the places which had seen the strongest quarrels between the New and the Old sects. Sining had taken a leading part in the earlier insurrection and one of its *ahong* had been executed by Gen. Liu Chin-t'ang. All his family were also killed except his wife who was given to one of the general's secretaries, together with a babe that she was still nourishing. This babe, who was called Han Wên-hsiu, grew up with a thirst for revenge. As soon as he heard of the revolt at Shunhua he raised the suburb of Sining, Tung-san-kuan, which was the residence of the Moslems. The emperor ordered the extermination of the Moslems of Shunhua. Tung Fu-hsiang (of Boxer fame), the Kansu general who had taken such a prominent part in the suppression of the earlier revolt, sent Gen. Têng Tsêng to deal with this later movement. Têng took the town of Shunhua and massacred the inhabitants. That is why there are now no Salars in the neighbouring towns. He next turned his attention to Sining and besieged the city, but his attempts were in vain. Then Ma An-liang comes on to the scene. His father had been one of the chiefs in the earlier rebellion at Hochow. He had submitted to and allied himself with the imperial forces. An-liang was himself a military officer. He presented himself in the guise of a friend to the defenders cf Tung-san-kuan and invited them to lay down their arms, giving his word as a Moslem that no harm should come to them. "May I no more be counted a Moslem if I deceive you." His co-religionists trusted him, laid down their arms and invited him to a great feast of reconciliation. During the feast, the troops began a massacre which was carried out with frightful carnage.

Ma An-liang was next sent to Hochow, his native place, where the rebels were besieging the walled city. Here again, he succeeded in persuading them to lay down their arms. This time, however, he did not fail in the main to keep his

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word. There were some prominent Moslems executed, doubtless either because of their wealth or of their adherence to the rival sect. As a reward, Ma An-liang became first, Colonel of Hochow and later Chen-tai (General) of Sinkiang, though even then he contrived to live at Hochow. In 1911, he was only 45 years old and was immensely wealthy. He was then using a good part of his wealth in works of public utility—bridges and roads. His share in the suppression of the rebellion was ignored in the official reports of Wei Kuang-t'ao, the governor of Shensi, and the whole credit given to the Hunan soldiers.

Even though Hochow may hardly merit the title of the Mecca of China, it is still the most interesting town in China from the Islamic point of view. Though the Moslems are confined to a suburb, in that suburb they are alone and there they form an organized community and are not as elsewhere submerged in an ocean of paganism. Moreover their buildings have not been ruined by their revolutions. They have thirteen mosques. The most important of these have a new arrangement. The mihrab is not in the great hall of prayer, but at the end of a smaller hall separated from the larger by a screen, a sort of choir added to a nave. A similar arrangement has been seen in Java, though there, the screened-off space is rather part of the main hall than an annex. Most of the Hochow mosques have a minaret which is used by the muezzin (called in Chinese *mou wang i*) for the call to prayer, a call not chanted, but uttered in a very loud voice.

There were only five families of Salars living at Hochow. Their native territory is in the *t'ing* of Shunhua where they occupy a dozen villages or groups of villages on the right bank of the Yellow River two long days' march to the west. They have comparatively little intercourse with Hochow, from which they are separated by a ridge of high mountains. Their communications are rather with the opposite bank of the River and especially with Sining. They claim to have come originally from Samarkand but no one knows when. The Salars seen were not clean shaven; they wore a knot of hair, and generally turbans, not hats. The hats differed in colour, but

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no distinction of sect or other matters was found to be attached to this distinction of colour. Apparently it was a mere matter of personal choice on the part of the wearer.

At Hochow, Moslem ladies were veiled with black silk below the eyes, a custom not met with elsewhere in China. They rode on horseback.

There were two Indian merchants from Rawal Pindi who were on the worst of terms with their co-religionists. Each side accused the other of lying.

As Lanchow, the capital, was approached a difference was noted in the architecture of the villages. Here each one was surrounded with a mud wall that was high and had a crenellated top that gave it the aspect of a fortress.

Lanchow took no part in either of the rebellions and had no share in the punishment. The Moslems of the city are respected for their numbers and their wealth. The city is the terminus for many of the great cross desert roads to Gobi. The Moslems are more in touch with their co-religionists of other lands than those of any other city visited. Several Persian manuscripts were obtained here (concerning which a valuable appendix is given).

The Commandant had hoped to meet a celebrated mufti named Ma, whose father also rejoiced in the same title. When Ma An-liang pacified Hochow, he had invited the father to a feast at his residence in Chitao and had had him murdered at the meal, after which he sought out all his disciples. The son, then 25, succeeded to the direction of the brotherhood which still remains. The disciples do not gather in the mosques as a body but make their prayers at home. It seemed worth noting that there was here a trace of a hereditary chieftancy of a sect.

All writers who treat of West China speak of the Tungans. The name was pronounced "Turkani" by the Moslems who were met. We are told the following legend of the origin of the word: Iskender Dhoul Karneim, the emperor of Persia and Turkey some 3,000 years ago having been invited by the emperor of China to come and explain to him the "True Pure Religion," *i.e.*, Islam, came with 120,000 men.

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When he went back there were some 3,000 of his followers, who had taken to themselves wives and did not wish to leave them. So they were called "Turkani," *i.e.*, "Sojourners." These people occupied Kinkipu, Lingchow and Ninghia. The Mission asked the informant how Islam could precede Mahomet. He was surprised at the question and replied: "The true religion does not date from Mahomet. It goes back to the Creation. The first Moslem was Adam."

North, from Lanchow to Liangchow the road runs through ruins. It is a famous silk route and has ever been a rorte of attack and defence. All buildings are really fortifications. During the long rebellion the vanquished party was practically annihilated. There remains no history. The travellers saw a most insignificant inscription in wood celebrating the merits of Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang and General Liu Chin-tang. No stories could be got from the present inhabitants, who are all post-rebellion immigrants.

The architecture at Liangchow is more Levantine in style. Even one of the city gates was ogival.

Except for a few groups of Moslems, Islam had almost disappeared from all the neighbourhood. On the west gate of Pingfan hsien was a notice forbidding Moslems to live inside the city. Very few of the groups numbered a hundred.

From Liangchow, the Mission left the road to Turkestan and struck across the desert of Gobi and the remains of the Great Wall,—remains, for even the Wall had suffered during the Rebellion. This sandy waste attracts no inhabitants. It was not till they approached the Yellow River that they again saw signs of life in the neighbourhood of Chungwei hsien where Moslems occupy the southern suburb. Here they entered the domain of the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the "New Sect."

The Old and the New Sects

It will be convenient at this point to summarise what our authors had already found out and the conclusions to which they were finally led with regard to the one Moslem split which is strongly marked in China.

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First of all, they point out that the names "Old" and "New" and the division are not confined to the time of Ma Hua-lung who was decapitated as recently as 1871. As far back as 1781, there is an edict of Chien Lung ordering a thorough investigation to be made concerning certain Moslem matters in Kansu connected with the Salars. The governor of Shensi in his reply says, "The New Religion is not practised."

The following year, 1782, an edict mentions one Su ssŭ ché san of Kansu who had made insurrection. He is described as "belonging to the New Sect, a heretic doctrine of the Moslem religion. . . . The rising of the Fan last year in Kansu had for its cause the rivalry between the New Sect and the Old." There follows a condemnation of the "perverse" doctrine and an order for its extermination.

In 1784, there is an edict which tells of the pacification of the Dzungars and of a large number of Moslems at Hui Chiang (the Hui frontiers), who came for the sake of commerce. Some wore red caps, some white; thus distinguishing between the New and the Old Sect. There is now no difference between the religion and the prayers of the Moslems in the Hui territory and those in Kashgar, Yarkand and other places. "Originally there was no such distinction as that between the New and the Old Sect and the peoples of the Interior and Exterior lived in order and trustfulness. But lately a rebel leader, T'ien Wu, and his associates Ma Hou-sen and Li Hou-tsen have caused trouble, pillaged villages and brought about disorder through spreading amongst the Moslems a new doctrine comparable to the White Lily Sect amongst the Buddhists."

To these interesting documents which might be suspected of not caring for "certain questions" of another religion than the emperor's own, there is added an extract from a Moslem inscription extant at Si-an which, referring to the revolt of 1781–1783 speaks of the battles that arose "from opposition between the Moslem and heretics," and goes on to say that the latter recognized their sins of separation and innovation.

There seems to be nothing definite concerning this "New Religion." It is possible that there may be more than a con-

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nection in name between the "New" Sect that acknowledges Ma Hua-lung who lived in the middle of the nineteenth century and the "New" religion of a century earlier. Until further research has brought to light more definite information than is at present available it is impossible to be certain. The members of the Mission found it very difficult to get even the information that their Moslem helpers in all probability themselves possessed. The "Old" Sect were bitterly prejudiced against the "New" and would not talk about them or act as the medium of communication with their rival. On the other hand, the members of the New Sect seemed equally unwilling to have anything to do with foreigners who consorted with members of the Old.

Two names of the New Sect indicate two points of difference. One is Tsai-he-rin-ye, which refers to the practice of "loud praying." The Old custom was to pray in a subdued voice. There is an added difference in the position of the hands at certain parts of the prayer. It would seem that the New Sect pays more attention to prayer. Although they do not forbid prayer in the mosques, the encouragement they give to prayer elsewhere has led to less praying in the mosques.

The other name for the New Sect is that of "Tomb Worshippers." Although there are celebrated tombs at Canton and in Yünnan, these are not places of special worship; but only of remembrance. In the more northern parts, there are tombs to which pilgrimages are made for the purpose of special prayer. "Kumbe" (or in Chinese "Kung pei") is the name of the New Sect considered as worshippers of tombs, from the Arabic word for "cupola."

Neither the practice of praying aloud or in private, nor the special worship at tombs can account for the bitter animosity which has existed between the New and the Old Sect. For that we should probably look to the way in which Ma Hua-lung was regarded by many of his followers: he was supposed at first to be the medium of special revelations from Allah. This led to his being regarded as in all respects the equal of Mahomet. It may easily be conjectured that such

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heresy would result in the greatest of hatred on the part of those who refused to allow the claim.

The actual first contact of our travellers with the New Sect seems to have been an unconscious one. At Ningyüan a mosque was found that was used by some hundred families, most, if not all of whom were refugees from Tali who came to Ningyüan after the rebellion. Letters of introduction given to the travellers by Moslems in this valley for use to Moslems in Chengtu, turned out to be addressed to the New Sect. In answer to enquiries, it was discovered that this adherence to the New Sect commenced before the refugees left Tali. The doctrines of the Kansu sect had been preached in Yünnan at the time of the Great Rebellion and these followers of the New Sect belonged to the party of the Sultan of Tali. This information agrees with the statements of M. Rocher, an eyewitness of the revolt (see *Le Province du Yunnan*, Pt. ii, p. 260 n.). The spread of the New Sect amongst the rebels was rapid and this furnishes one explanation of the strange way in which the Moslems split into two camps of which one threw itself into the arms of its enemies in order to destroy its quondam friends. The apparent disinterestedness in the supreme matter of their religion which the Moslem leaders seemed to show, forbids us looking for any petty reason. Their *volte face* has hitherto been unexplained and incomprehensible. The key to the enigma lies in an ardent rivalry of sectarianism. It is worth noting that there was a Turkish visitor at Ningyüan in March, 1905. He was about twenty years of age and was received with extraordinary honours, Although he must have passed through Yünnan, the Mission was told there, that they had no knowledge of any communications between Arabia and Yünnan. Supposing this was true, it follows that the Turkish visitor deliberately refused to fraternize with the Old Sect. It is known that the New Sect has its branches in the Levant.

It was at Chengtu that the Mission was conscious for the first time of the animosity between the New and the Old Sect. The New Sect has a mosque in Chengtu to which, as stated above, the members of the New Sect in the Chien-ch'ang

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valley had provided the traveller with letters of introduction. They were, nevertheless, unable to obtain an interview with the *ahong*, who was said to be away on a journey. The reception by the Moslem members was decidedly cold. The travellers saw several Turks from Turkestan in the mosque, but they were unable to gather any information. Their curiosity was naturally aroused by this evident presence of a sectarianism after they had been so often told there was no such thing in those parts.

At Sungpan t'ing, it was found that the members of the two sects live together. Although the *ahong* at the mosques all claimed to belong to the Old Sect, they admitted that the members practised prayer to the saints and at the tombs, nor did the *ahong* oppose the practice with any serious energy. One of the tombs thus used was about a kilometre north of Sungpan. It was in memory of an *ahong* born in Medina who came to Sungpan in 1666. Five years later the fervour of his prayers procured the ending of a great drought which had ruined the whole country. He died in 1679 and his monument was at once erected. The original was destroyed in 1861 by the Tibetans when they took the town. The present monument was erected by subscription.

At Hochow the frontier between the two sects is crossed. The Moslems in that great centre are all of the New Sect. About a kilometre to the west of the city are found several tombs, the chief of which is most elaborate. At its entry are two large animals in bronze, and the wall all round is covered with stucco relief work in Chinese style with the usual designs of both men and animals. All this is of course strictly forbidden in the Koran. No other example was found by the travellers. The attempt to discover who was buried in this great tomb proved unavailing.

Neither at Sungpan t'ing nor at Hochow would the Moslems allow themselves to be considered as the followers of Ma Hua-lung although they worshipped at the tombs. They did not like to speak of Ma though it could be seen that his prestige was still considerable. It was in Chungwei hsien that the real country of Ma Hua-lung was entered. Some

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20 kilometres north of the city, in the village of Yun-chin pu in an extension of the valley of the Yellow River, two singular monuments attracted the attention of the passers by. The larger was square and was surmounted by a cupola. It occupied the top of a hillock. Just below, was a much smaller monument, cylindrical in shape and capped by a conical bowl ending in an oval tip. The inscription stated that in 1865, there took place here a bloody battle between the imperialists and the followers of Ma Chêng-yüan, the most celebrated of the lieutenants of Ma Hua-lung. The Moslem was the victor. The monument was erected after the fall of Ma by a taotai named Wang. The smaller was dedicated to General Wang Ch'i-chang who commanded the imperial troops and who was killed in the fight. The larger was raised to the memory of his faithful followers. The form of these monuments was altogether out of the common and resembled rather monuments in the Levant than in China. Still more uncommon was the fact that the larger of the two was sacred to a number of anonymous soldiers. Temples, tablets, arches, abound in China, but they are always to some definite person. Here we have a monument similar to those common in the West. Captain Le-page, a member of the Mission, also met with a specimen of a monument erected to many nameless people, at Suiteh chou, Szechuen.

After crossing the deserts and mountains of the Tsintung hsia, the Mission found itself on the far bank of the Yellow River opposite Kinkipu. This town, called by Reclus "the Medina of China" does not figure in the Imperial Geography. There, its name is Ning-ling t'ing. But its ordinary name is Kinkipu. It is only forty-five years ago that it was a village and became a walled town, and only thirty-five years ago that it was raised to the rank of a t'ing city. It was Ma Hua-lung who created the city and who made it famous as the bulwark in the great struggle between Islam and the empire.

The following translation of a document written by Wu Wen-yin, a former prefect and noted scholar who has the reputation of knowing more about the history of this particular

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strife than other writers, will show what an important rôle was played by Ma Hua-lung.

"The 3rd year of Tung chih [1864] the East and West were troubled. The bandit Miao Pei-lin and the Moslem rebel Ma Hua-lung sowed disorder in our region (Kansu). Ma Hua-lung got into touch with the rebels in the north and south of Shensi; they relieved Ninghsia and Sanhao as well as Ning-tiao-ling of the Tsao lands. [Ning-tiao-ling is a town to the north of the Great Wall. "Tsao" lands is used as a general name for the lands inhabited by the Ortos nomads.] . . . [Here follows a list of the military commanders.] The regiments besieged Ninghsia. Many of the rebel chiefs were slain by Tu Ling-pu [who bore the title of Prince Seng] and by Ch'en Ko-jui. Little by little the rebels were conquered. In the last month of 1865, the town of Ninghsia was retaken. Two years later, General Man was made the Shen-Kan viceroy.

"In 1865, Ma Hua-lung provoked a new insurrection. Tso Tsung-t'ang was sent against him. General Liu Chung-chuang had the command of the troops in Lao-shang-chün. He skirted the Great Wall and marched on Lingchow. In the first month of the new year General Liu was killed. His nephew, Liu Chin-t'ang, succeeded him; in the last month of the same year, Kinkipu was rescued. In the first moon of 1871, Ma Hua-lung and Ma Pa-ch'iao were decapitated. After that Hochow and Sining fell and Shensi and Kansu were pacified. In 1874, the great army of Liu Chin-t'ang came from the Tsao lands by Nanlu; the great army of Chin Ch'uan and Tsang Yao by the Pei Lu pursued the Pai Yen-hou and attacked An-tsi-yen, [*i.e.*, the territory of Yakoob Beg]. But Pai Yen-hou made good his escape to Russian territory whilst P'a Hsia, the king of An-tsi-yen, was put to death. In 1878, the frontiers of the New Territory [Sinkiang] were fixed and a decree opened the territory to the Chinese and named Liu Chin-t'ang as its first governor.

"Concerning the religious usages of the Moslems, one may say that there were two parties, the Old and the New; and it was their quarrels that stirred up the strife. But I do not know what their differences were."

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This document indicates the important part the reformer took in that great insurrection which even to the present is known as the revolt of Yakoob Beg who was recognized by both Great Britain and Russia. Yet it was Ma Hua-lung who for ten years occupied all the Chinese forces. Liu Sung-shan, one of the most celebrated of the Taiping conquerors, was defeated and killed by him. It was only after his capture that the rest of Kansu submitted and then when the Chinese army put itself in march, the defeat of Yakoob Beg was an affair of days. The independent sultanate of Turkestan, recognized by two of the great powers of Europe, collapsed. The history of the Great War has yet to be written on lines that will give a right view of the real combatants.

One of the most interesting things in the documents of this region is the careful arrangement which they show in the deliberate omission of references to Tung Fu-hsiang. When one gets to Kinkipu, one finds oneself in what was virtually his kingdom. He played, as will be remembered, a great part in the Boxer movement of 1900. Reaching Peking at the head of a division soon after that movement commenced, he advocated vigorous measures against Europeans, and he it was who assaulted the Legations. During the flight of the Court, it was again he who afforded most protection against the pursuing allies. When Europe placed his name at the head of those to be punished, his punishment was meted out to him : he was deprived of all his ranks and honours and exiled—exiled to the distant province of Kansu, that is to say, to his home. He had immense property to the south of Kinkipu. There he possessed two huge castles which adjoined. These were his ordinary place of residence. He led back with him a large number of soldiers, five hundred of whom formed his special body guard. Crowds of them tilled his fields, ready to march for him wherever and whenever he bade them. To the north of Kinkipu, near the town of Wuting hsien his lieutenant and old comrade, General Chang Chieh-san held that part of his territory for him. It was a part where the followers of Ma Hua-lung were both numerous and suspect. Strong in his terrible reputation, in his riches, and in the devotion of his

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followers, he reigned as a veritable king. The prefect each day awaited his orders; even the viceroy took no step without consulting him. Such was the "disgrace" meted out to Tung Fu-hsiang for his share in the Boxer movement.

At his death in 1907, his grandson and heir offered the nation 5,000 rifles and $200,000. The emperor immediately raised the heir to the rank of Taotai and restored to the deceased all the titles that Europe had demanded should be taken from him. He was buried with the highest official honours and with a pomp worthy of his prestige, in the month of May, 1908.

Now this Tung Fu-hsiang, whom the European press had portrayed as a fanatic Moslem was the most terrible enemy of the Moslems. He took a leading part in the suppression of the great revolts of 1864–1877 and of 1895–1896. Before the troubles started he was a man of no social position. Following the example of many whose record is given in Chinese annals, he commenced by fishing in troubled waters. He organized a band of robbers who pillaged both sides with impunity. He made such a name during the siege of Ning-hsia when he attacked the imperial convoy, that his assistance was sought for by both the rival armies. Liu Sung-shan succeeded in gaining him and he was at once gazetted as colonel. It was as colonel that he took part in the siege of Kinkipu and he it was who captured Ma Hua-lung. According to tradition, Ma had planned a night attack upon the imperial camp. Traitors gave warning to Tung who prepared an ambush and succeeded in taking the prophet as his prisoner. The town fell at once.

The reward of the capture was the spoil of the vanquished. Tung Fu-hsiang received the lands of the Moslems and thus the "Medina" of China became the heritage of the most formidable foe of Islam.

Tung Fu-hsiang had more trouble in repressing Moslems elsewhere. As Ti-tai (General) of Kansu he induced the Moslem, Ma An-liang, to repress the insurrection at Sining and Hochow in 1895 and 1896. It was as generalissimo that he entered Peking in 1900 with numbers of Moslems as his

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followers. All his soldiers wore turbans, the wearing of which is not a distinctive mark of Moslems in Szechuen or Yünnan or Kansu, though it was taken to be such by Europeans at Peking. This led to the misapprehension that all his troops were Moslems.

The house in which Ma Hua-lung lived at Kinkipu has been turned into a temple. There is an inscription built into the wall, but on account of a carved screen in front of it the travellers could neither copy nor even read it well. The original village of Kinkipu which contained the birth house of Ma Hua-lung, has been levelled and Moslems have no permission to live in the present town.

Although it had been successful in tracing the cradle of the New Sect and in following up the personal history of Ma Hua-lung, the mission was still unable to discover wherein lay the peculiarities of the sect. No one would tell what exactly the New Sect was. Between Kinkipu and Lingchow the sect of Ma Hua-lung counted most of its partisans. Their bearing towards the travellers was quite courteous, but it was evident that they feared to speak about Ma Hua-lung and his tenets, especially before other Moslems.

We were assured that Ma Hua-lung received only people of culture as his followers. All who were thus received, believed he was the recipient of special inspiration. He gave answers to all questions they asked and appeared to them as knowing everything. He did not forbid them to attend the mosques, but in order to get them to be more prayerful he authorised them to pray in a common room and without any change of clothing or special turban. As a matter of fact each group of three or four houses has a little mosque of its own, a mere room reserved for worship, or even the corner of a room marked off by the absence of furniture and the presence of praying mats and frequently adorned with scrolls or inscriptions to the glory of Allah.

Our author puts the main difference between the New Sect and all other Moslems in the recognition given by the sect to Ma Hua-lung. He is regarded as a superior being; an incarnated spirit; a "shêng jên" (*i.e.*, a sage like

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Confucius). As such he was not only blindly obeyed, he was held to be the equal or even the superior of Mahomet. When he died, his personality passed to his successor. But herein lay a source of fresh schism ; for there were two candidates for the succession, the grandson, Ma Erh-hsi and the son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi. Both convinced their own group of partisans of their respective right and of the other's non-possession of any power to succeed Ma Hua-lung. Ma Ta-hsi convinced the larger number. He was born in 1853 and lived at Sha-k'ou near Kuyuan which was everywhere spoken of as an important religious centre. Ma Erh-hsi was born in 1878 and lived at T'ang-chia-chuan near Tsingshui hsien, Pingliang fu, Kansu. Much was heard of an important Moslem college at Pingliang analogous to those of Morocco or Egypt.

At the time of the Great Revolt, the New Sect had no very large extension, perhaps it has not even to-day. In Yünnan, it was propagated by followers of Ma's third brother who was killed in battle fighting against Ma Yu-lung. Compare the following statement of Rocher in his work on Yünnan (II, p. 160 n.). "That which prolonged the strife between the two villages was that Ma Cheng-lin, although a Moslem, belonged to the New Sect. . . . Ma Ju-ling, belonged to the Old Sect. This made antagonism between them."

For long, the Mission was not able to get any explanation of the terms Tsai-he-rin-ye, Hu-fu-ye, and Ka-ta-ron-ye. Here is an explanation offered by one of the *ahong* of the Hu-fu-ye who enjoyed no small reputation: "The four Caliphs each instituted a special rite ; the Moslems of Kansu are divided in accordance with these rites. Abu Bekr instituted the Hu-fu-ye who pray in a low voice ; Osman, the Tsai-he-rin-ye who pray in a loud voice ; Omar, the Ku-pe-rin-ye, which signifies "great," "old," because Osman was old; and Ali the Ka-ta-rin-ye, "dazzling," "superb," the surname of Ali(?)."

[To be concluded]

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TAOIST TALES

BY

MAJOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS

PART III

They who cherish belief in the universality of human thought and aspirations will find a congenial theme in the close parallelism between the overseas paradises anciently conceived in the West and in the Far East.

The inception of the notion on our side of the world cannot be dated more exactly than by Pliny's phrase "Carthaginis potentia florente."[1] Then it was that the fleet of Himilco sailed through the Pillars of Hercules, up the coast of Spain and on across the Atlantic. The Carthaginians might have discovered America more than 2,000 years before Columbus, but the magicians on board forbade further progress when the great sea of weed was reached. On the return voyage islands were encountered, the wonders of which are recorded in a book attributed to Aristotle,[2] in Pliny's *Natural History* and in the poems of Avienus.[3] Such is the scant material on which to base conjecture as to the

(1) *Hist. Nat.*, Bk. II, cp. 67.
(2) περὶ θαυμάσιων ἀκουσμάτων, cp. 85.
(3) *Ora Maritima*, lines 117, 383, 412.

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historical origin of the Insulae Fortunatae of our classic tradition. There is evidence that the conception, fostered by sailors' yarns and pious speculation, lived on and flourished, and many a mariner was tempted to seek the isles of immortality in the Western main.

Scarcely less dimly seen are the beginnings of the oriental parallel. Enough remains to prove that at the same moment in the world's history the Chinese also were gazing seawards in the hope of finding a land of perennial youth and a haven from earthly tribulations. They called their islands San hsien shan (三仙山), namely, P'êng-lai (蓬萊), Fang-chang (方丈), and Ying Chou (瀛洲). There were others; but the three aforesaid were those that stood in popular fancy for the Isles of the Blest.

Now, there seems little doubt that, in the same way that the Insulae Fortunatae had their foundation of fact in the Azores, Canaries, or Madeira, so had the San hsien shan in certain islands of the Eastern Sea; and that, just as the Western conception led eventually to the finding of America, so its Eastern counterpart brought about the Chinese discovery of Japan.

If we grope further backwards through the mists of antiquity beyond the landmarks of Western history we find Homer's Elysian Plain and Hesiod's Ocean Paradise. These are something more than mere poetic fancies; they mirror imaginings instinctive in the human mind all the world over. Common to most primitive peoples is belief in a remote and unknown land, difficult of access, lying in the direction of the rising or setting sun, and often overseas, where the blest enjoy for ages a glorified continuation of their earthly existence.

It is not to be supposed that the ancient Chinese were singular in that respect. For them the East had special significance; because it was the quarter associated with the celestial vitalizing force called *Yang* (陽), of which the quintessence is the sun. Whatever way their conception started, it is certain that at the period we are discussing (that is, some 450 years B.C.) it had assumed a markedly Taoistic complexion, and it is in association with the less reputable

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exponents of *TAO* that the San hsien shan first appear in the pages of authentic history.

Thus Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (司馬遷), after mentioning five Taoists by name, says—

"They were all natives of Yen (燕), who practised Taoistic magic, in order that their bodies might become released from earthly trammels, refined (like smelted ore), and transformed. They relied upon the cult of the *Kuei* (鬼), and the *Shên* (神).[1] Tsou Yen (鄒衍) was famed among various feudal princes for his treatise on the control exercised by the *Yin* (陰) and the *Yang* (陽) over evolution. The magicians, who inhabited the coastal regions of Yen and Ch'i (齊), handed down his mystic doctrines without being able to understand them. Moreover, then it was that men versed in strange wonders and deceitful flattery and knowing how to ingratiate themselves with the people by base means, multiplied in countless numbers. The sending of men to sea in search of P'êng-lai, Fang-chang and Ying Chou dates from the time of Wei (威), and Hsüan (宣) and Chao (昭) of Yen."[2]

We know that Prince Wei ruled over the State of Ch'i from B.C. 378 to 333, and Hsüan was the name of his successor. Prince Chao ascended the throne of Yen in 311. This passage, therefore, establishes the important fact that as early as the fourth century B.C. belief in the Isles was sufficiently robust to encourage the fitting out of expeditions to search the seas for them.

In B.C. 219, some 150 years later, the famous expedition, about which Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien has so much to say, set sail from the coast of China. It is in this connection that the hero of this article, the Master An-ch'i (安期生), first appears as a historical figure. Like many other notables in Taoist legend,

(1) *Kuei* is the material soul emanating from the terrestrial part of the Cosmos, and is therefore associated with *Yin*. *Shên* is the ethereal soul emanating from celestial sources and is associated with *Yang*. The Chinese attribute these two souls to man in common with the rest of creation. See De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. iv, especially pp. 5 and 52.

(2) *Shih Chi*, XXVIII, p. 11. The edition referred to is dated 1806.

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his name is often introduced regardless of chronological considerations. For instance, he is reputed to have received instruction from the Yellow Emperor.[1] Nevertheless, it seems probable that An-ch'i actually lived during this period, and that the following biography has some foundation in fact.

TRANSLATION FROM LIEH HSIEN CHUAN OF LIU HSIANG.

The Master An-ch'i belonged to the village of Fu (阜) in the district of Lang-yeh (琅琊). He used to sell drugs by the shore of the Eastern Sea. His contemporaries all called him Old Father Thousand Years (Ch'ien-sui Wêng, 千歲翁).

When Shih Huang (始皇) of the Cn'in (秦) dynasty travelled to the east of the empire [on a tour of inspection] he besought an interview with An-ch'i, and stayed talking with him for three days and three nights. The Emperor bestowed vast quantities of gold and precious things upon him, but on the return journey when he had reached the pavilion[2] of Fu-hsiang, An-ch'i deposited there all his gifts and departed, leaving behind a written document and a pair of red jade slippers as a present in acknowledgement with these words: "After the lapse of many years look for me on the Isle of P'êng-lai."

Shih Huang lost no time in sending to sea an expedition numbering several hundreds of persons led by Hsü Shih (徐市) and Lu Shêng (盧生). They never reached P'êng-lai, because they encountered violent storms which caused them to turn back.

About a dozen shrines in honour of An-ch'i were set up; some near the pavilion of Fu, and some by the sea shore.

This account of the expedition that went to seek the Isles of the Blest is essentially the same as that given in several

(1) See Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, III, p. 486.

(2) There used to stand on the main road about 10 *li* outside most towns a pavilion or shelter called *Shih li t'ing*, 十里亭. There travellers rested, and thither they were accompanied by their friends and hosts when setting forth on long journeys. Thither, too, it was etiquette to escort distinguished visitors. These picturesque structures are still to be found in parts of China.

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passages of the *Historical Record*, but in a later chapter Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien tells how a different excuse was given for failure in the quest of the fungus of immortality,[1] and how again the attempt was made. He says:

In bygone days the Ch'in Emperor . . . sent Hsü Fu (徐福) [*alias* Hsü Shih] to sea in search of supernatural and strange things. On his return he made lying excuses, saying: "Your servant saw in mid-ocean a great Spirit who asked: 'Are you the envoy of the Emperor of the West?' Your servant answered, 'Yes.' 'What have you come to seek?' said he. To which your servant replied: 'I would request of you the herb that lengthens one's years and increases longevity.' The Spirit said: 'The offerings of your Emperor are inadequate; you may look at the herb, but not take it.' Then he accompanied your servant towards the Southeast till we arrived at the Island of P'êng-lai. I saw the portal of the hall where are stored the crops of magic fungus. By it stood an emissary, who was the colour of brass, and had the form of a dragon. There shone from him rays illuminating the sky. Prostrating myself twice I asked him, saying: 'What gifts would be acceptable to the Ocean Spirit?' He answered: 'Well-born youths and young virgins, together with craftsmen of all kinds. Thus the herb may be obtained.'"

This delighted the Ch'in Emperor. who sent three thousand youths and maidens, as well as seeds of the five kinds of grain and artificers of all kinds. Then Hsü Fu set sail, and

(1) The kind appearing in pictures and in all forms of decorative art as the emblem *par excellence* for Taoist longevity is generally termed *ling chih* (靈芝), the "*chih* possessed of spirit-power." It is shown having branches that expand into flattened umbilicated extremities with scalloped edges, thus resembling a fungus known to science. Bretschneider in *Botanicon Sinicum* gives the various botanical names it has received. Its emblematic significance is partly traceable to the resistance offered by its substance to decay and hence it is to some extent analogous to the French *immortelle*. For other aspects of its import see De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. iv. There are records of its magic qualities having been recognized as early as the third century B.C., and to the present day it is sold by native apothecaries as a drug capable of prolonging life.

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found a peaceful and fertile land. There he stopped and made himself king, and returned not.[1]

It would appear from the foregoing that as the outcome of his consultation with An-ch'i the First Emperor grew so obsessed with desire to attain hsienship and evade the common fate of mortals through the magic agencies to be found in the Isles of the Blest that he became an easy dupe in the hands of Taoist adventurers, who imposed upon his credulity to further their own ambitious designs. If it is true that Hsü Shih founded a numerous colony in a foreign land, and that land was Japan, An-ch'i's influence was a factor in the origin of a great nation. Certainly the tradition of Hsü Shih's colony is a tenacious one; for to the present day some graves in Kü province are associated with him and his followers.[2]

The little we know of An-ch'i may seem to identify him with the numerous vagabond rogues who infested the coastal regions of northeastern China during the several centuries before and after the beginning of our era. Reputed devotees of *TAO*, they interpreted and exploited the doctrine to suit their own ends, and the historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien holds them in deserved contempt. The schemes of these parasitical self-styled Taoists and the quest of the magic fungus are linked with an infamous event in Chinese history more closely than is generally recognized. The First Emperor has been execrated by succeeding generations as the monster who buried alive 460 leading scholars of the Empire. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien clearly indicates that among the number were many Taoist magicians, and, moreover, that the ostensible reason given by the Emperor for the deed was their disloyalty and fraudulent deception of himself in regard to the magic fungus. It may have been merely an excuse for ridding himself of those he considered dangerous to the security of his throne, though the events of his reign show he had due cause for resentment against the Taoist fraternity. At any rate, it seems unjust to attribute a desire to wipe out the ancient national traditions,

(1) *Shih Chi*, CXVIII, p. 11.
(2) Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People*, p. 78.

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so sacred to the Chinese, as the sole motive for the wholesale immolation ordered by Shih Huang.

We may prefer to regard An-ch'i, not as a charlatan and rogue, but in the light of Liu Hsiang's biography as an honest and ardent Taoist who, like some of our mediæval alchemists, had sincere belief in the possibility of transcending mortal limitations. His home was in the region whence sailed the early Taoist venturers, and it may be reasonably assumed that he was one of the hardy band who searched the ocean for magic agencies of immortality, and therefore have a claim to our respect, if for no other reason than that they were pioneers in Chinese geographical discovery and navigation of the seas.

The drugs traded by An-ch'i along the shores of the Eastern Sea were doubtless obtained from the enchanted lands visited in his travels. Pictures show him carrying his wares in a basket, and prominent among them is the magic fungus. The rocks of Pêng-lai, chief of the Isles of the Blest, rise amid waves in the distance. At other times An-ch'i appears by the pavilion near his native village, surrounded with bars of gold and precious things which, with true Taoistic disregard for worldly riches, he returned to the imperial donor.

An-ch'i Shêng figures again and again in the pages of Taoist lore, always retaining his association with the Isles of the Blest.

Six sovereigns occupied the throne of China during the seventy years following the death of the First Emperor. Some favoured Taoism, but it was not till the ascension of Wu Ti (武帝) in B.C. 140 that the cult of immortality again obsessed the thoughts of an emperor. Wu Ti was not content with merely searching for the island paradise. His revival of the ancient sacrifices in honour of heaven and earth (*fêng*, 封, and *shan*, 禪) was apparently the outcome of the magicians' repeated assurances that by so doing he would attain hsienship, and, like the Yellow Emperor, be translated to paradise without dying. The same motive led him to recognise officially the art of alchemy. The following is important as the earliest account of Chinese alchemy. It refers to the year 133 B.C.

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[Li] Shao-chün (李 少 君) said to the Emperor: "Sacrifice to the crucible, and you will be able to make Supernatural beings appear. When you have effected their attendance, cinnabar can be transmuted into yellow gold. Having obtained yellow gold, you can fashion it into vessels for drinking and eating, and thus extend your longevity. When your powers of long life have been increased you will be able to see the *hsien* who live on the Island of P'êng-lai that is in mid-ocean. When you have seen them, and have also performed the sacrifices in honour of heaven and earth, you will become immortal. It was thus with the Yellow Emperor. Your servant, in the course of his constant wanderings at sea, has seen the Master An-ch'i, who was eating dates as large as melons. The Master An-ch'i is a *hsien*, and he frequents P'êng-lai. He can make himself visible or invisible to mortals as it pleases him."

It was in consequence of this discourse that the Son of Heaven personally offered for the first time sacrifices to the crucible. He also sent magicians to sea to search for P'êng-lai and the Master An-ch'i. Then he turned his attention to transmuting cinnabar and scraps of every kind of drug in order to get yellow gold.

Some time after that Li Shao-chün fell ill and died. The Son of Heaven, thinking that he was not dead but merely departed in a transformed shape, commissioned K'uan Shu, a secretary in the prefectures of Huang and Chiu, to continue the magical practices of Li Shao-chün, and the search for P'êng-lai and for the Master An-ch'i. But they could not be found. Moreover, in the region of Yen and Ch'i, bordering on the sea, magicians skilled in strange marvels appeared in ever increasing numbers and engaged in discussions on spiritual subjects.[1]

(1) *Shih Chi*, XXVIII, pp. 23, 24.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE BAMBOO ANNALS

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

It would be futile to discuss the chronology of the Bamboo Annals without the belief that it is a genuine relic of the Chou dynasty.

The facts connected with the various Bamboo Books of which the *Annals* is the largest and most important, and of their discovery in an ancient tomb in the winter of A.D. 280–281 have been given to us by Professor Chavannes in an appendix to his edition of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien and by Dr. Legge in the Prolegomena to his of the *Shu-ching*. Both scholars accepted the genuineness of the discovery and there is no serious reason for doubting it.[1] But, as with so many of these

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(1) Doubt has been cast upon the genuineness of the discovery on the assumption that the books were written in the small seal character and yet were buried at the beginning of the third century B.C. The first assumption appears to depend only upon the statement of the biographer of the Emperor Wu-ti (d. 291 A.D.), but Wei Hêng and Hsün Hsü, who were employed to decipher them, say merely that they were written in "ancient" script, and Tu Yu, also a contemporary, says that they were in the *K'o-tu* or "tadpole" script; he was mostly interested in the *Annals* and his remarks will apply principally to it. The assumed date of their burial depends upon the statement of the decipherers that the tomb was that of a

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ancient Chinese texts, we are confronted with the question whether the *Annals* in their present form are those which were found in the tomb. The compilers of the Imperial Catalogue of A.D. 1782 thought that the present text is spurious. As reproduced by Professor Chavannes their reasons appear to have been first, that it quotes two books of the *Shu ching* which are peculiar to Mei Tsê (梅賾) (fourth century) edition and which were not known before his time. Professor Chavannes pertinently asks why Mei Tsê may not just as well have formed his *Shu ching* with the help of these Annals. Second, that some early quotations from the *Annals* are not in the present text. Professor Chavannes in reply thought that some loose fragments of other books in the tomb were at first taken as belonging to the *Annals* but were rejected later.[1] Third, that the *Annals* as known to Tu Yu followed the Hsia calendar. but now do not. The Professor admits that the years in the latter part of the original text were given according to the reigns first of the marquises of Chin and then of Wei, which was co-heir of Chin, and thinks that when they were changed so as to follow the reigns of the kings of Chou it was necessary also to change the calendar because Chin and Wei used the Hsia calendar which began the year two or three months later. If this alteration in the text has been

certain king. Tu Yu does not commit himself on this point, and the title of the king is given variously. The fact of the tomb being royal may possibly have been only a local tradition. It evidently belonged to some considerable personage, but the stolen art treasures were not recovered. The names or the title of the king who reigned when the *Annals* were finished is not given and they close with the statement that it was the 20th year of "our present king" as though he were still alive. Professor Chavannes concluded that there is no evidence of the tomb being a royal one. The date of their sepulture, therefore, remains quite uncertain. How long the books lay in some library after the compiler himself may have died, is quite unknown. If some of them were indeed written in the small seal character they may have been above ground almost to the time of Shih Huang-ti's order for the destruction of historical works and indeed the edict may have been the reason for their interment.

(1) The fragments also were put in the Imperial Library. Some later scholars may have thought them to be part of the *Annals* without their having been accepted as such by the original decipherers whose text may still remain to us unexpurgated.

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made there undoubtedly is room for an error of one year in the affairs of Chin and Wei which occurred just before or after the end of a year, but it will not affect the general chronology of the *Annals*.[1]

Apart from the calendar Professor Chavannes refers to Li Tao-yüen (麗道元)[2] who quotes many passages from the *Annals* giving the chronology according to the marquises of Chin or of Wei. The change would be quite simple and will not affect the value of the *Annals*.

At least one addition has undoubtedly been made to the original text. The cycle name of the first year of every reign from Yao is given. As Dr. Legge points out, if the compiler thought of this convenient system of notation, it is surprising that it was not adopted by other writers, but as far as is known the cycle was not applied to years until the After Han dynasty, and moreover none of the quotations from the *Annals* before the Sui dynasty give the cycle year.[3]

These cycle names of the years must be accepted as late additions to the Bamboo Annals and their only value is so far as they may show the condition of the text when they were inserted. From the beginning of the Shang dynasty onwards, they agree with the text; but in the Hsia dynasty they differ considerably. Only the cycle of the first year of a reign is given, and from cycle to cycle the interval in 13 of the 17 reigns does not agree with the numeral of the last year; it is

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(1) Personally I cannot accept the theory of there being different calendars under the Chou dynasty. Acceptance of the theory helps us very little to reconcile the conflicting dates of the *Tso chuan* and the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. The single passage in the former which asserts it is probably one of the many late additions. Ssŭ-ma shows no knowledge of there having been two calendars and Tu Yu, the principal upholder of the theory, adduces only one instance from the *Annals* in support of it. The fact that in one case the 11th month of Chin corresponded in his text with the 1st month of Lu must be taken on his word. It cannot now be verified nor need his explanation of it be accepted.

(2) Died A.D. 527. Professor Chavannes quotes him through a writer of the nineteenth century.

(3) Legge and Chavannes.

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always a little larger and the total increase is thirty-one years;[1] so that we have two chronologies lying side by side without any intimation of antagonism. The first thought of the reader will probably be that there has been a corruption of the text after the cycle years were added. If so it was not accidental; the differences being confined to one dynasty and spread more or less evenly over it, always in one direction and never more than a few years, shows purpose. No purpose for the wilful alteration of the numerals can be suggested, but the inserter of the cycle may have had some reason for diverging from the chronology of the text. It is not worth while discussing the possibility of his having had some ancient scheme of chronology unknown to Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien with which he sought to bring the *Annals* into harmony. Nor was his purpose to harmonize them with the common chronology accepted in his own time. True, the cycle years bring the total length of the dynasty nearer to the Common scheme, but it still falls short of it by five years, and no single reign agrees with it, while three reigns which according to the numerals did agree now diverge; nor did he make any attempt to harmonize the Shang dynasty with the Common Chronology.

If the purpose of the cycle years was not to correct the text it may have been to supplement it. A clue to this may perhaps be found in the note at the end which gives a total of 471 years to the Hsia dynasty, that is, sixty-eight years more than the added numerals of each reign. Is it only a coincidence that this allows exactly four years to each reign? The writer of the note, an admirer of the *Annals*, yet believing Confucius' dictum that all the early kings observed the full term of mourning, finds nothing in the Shang dynasty in opposition to the theory, but turning to the Hsia he reads that Yu the Great, one of the Master's heroes, in his first year took an active part in the government so far as to change Shun's regulations,

(1) Including three years to be added to the Yu the Great's reign according to the cycle year of Shun. The *Annals* fail to give the chronology of the interregnum between the 5th and 6th reigns of the Hsia dynasty.

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that his son gave two great banquets in his first year and that the third king went hunting. He might then conclude that it was the custom of the dynasty to count the years of the reign only from the time when the king took personal control after the completion of mourning, and when he reckoned up the length of the dynasty he added these sixty-eight years : if so, he overlooked the fact that in two reigns—the one after the interregnum and one after an abdication—there was no mourning. The inserter of the cycle years holding the same theory detected this oversight, for those two reigns are amongst the few in which no addition is made.[1] He also shortened the time of mourning ; his thirty-one added years averages two years and two months for each of the fifteen reigns in which there was mourning, or just about the actual period to which he was accustomed. Now, the beginning of the first year of personal rule would fall in either the second or the third year after the death of the preceding king, and we find the addition to eleven of the fifteen reigns in which there was mourning to be two or three years. The other four reigns, however, cannot be thus accounted for; in two, those of Mang (芒) and Kuei (癸), there also is no addition, but the text supplies no reason for presuming that mourning was not observed ; in one reign, Hsieh (泄), mourning was only for one year, whilst T'ai-k'ang (太康) is made to mourn for four years. It is vain to inquire for all the vagaries of an unknown glossarist. Though the suggestion here made to account for the peculiarity of these cycle years may seem to be somewhat strained and does not fully account for all the facts, there seems, in the absence of any other explanation, to have been some connection between the cycle and the period of mourning and it will explain why the glossarist when inserting his cycle years, which he must have seen did not agree with the numerals, did not alter the numerals, and so far the cycle years sustain the authenticity of the numerals.

(1) The difference between the length of a reign as given by the numerals and as reckoned from cycle to cycle must be added to the reign following.

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The note at the end of the Shang dynasty gives its duration as 496 years whilst the text makes it 506 years. If it be a gloss its purpose remains hidden, but it may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake in a single character either in the text or the note; if in the former it was made before the cycle years were inserted for these agree exactly with the numerals.

The last attack upon the genuineness of the present text which is to be noticed is at first sight of serious weight, depending as it does upon one who knew the *Annals* in their early form, and not upon late glossarists: but it seems to admit of a simple explanation. The biographer of Shu Hsi, (束晳) another of those who helped to decipher the Bamboo Books, says that the *Annals* made the Hsia dynasty longer than the Shang. His purpose in drawing attention to this fact would be to contrast the chronology with the Common Chronology. The present text, however, so far in agreement with the Common scheme, makes the Hsia shorter than the Shang. Professor Chavannes casts doubts upon the statement in the biography; yet it concerns a simple and essential matter of fact, not like Tu Yu's theory of the Hsia calendar, and we can hardly suppose that a mistake was made in simple addition. There may, however, attach doubt as to its precise meaning. The biographer, with Tu Yu, says that the *Annals* began with the Hsia dynasty, but it is altogether unlikely that they took no notice of Yao and Shun. If he included these two Emperors in the Hsia dynasty he would only be following the example of Mencius who always calls the Canon of Yao and Shun "a book of the Hsia." With these two reigns added the present text of the *Annals* do make the Hsia dynasty longer than the Shang, yet the point of the remark remains, for according to the Common Chronology the Hsia with Yao and Shun should still be shorter than the Shang.

The biographer and Tu Yu before him say that the *Annals* began with the Hsia dynasty, whereas now they begin with Huang-ti. The Hsia might be held to include Yao and Shun but hardly Huang-ti. Should it be thought that the

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term could be used in so wide a sense it would follow that Shu Hsi's biographer, when pointing out the peculiarities of the *Annals*, made the futile criticism that in them the Hsia is longer than the Shang. Probably therefore all before Yao should be expunged from the genuine text of the Bamboo Annals.[1]

The system of chronology in the *Annals* was formed two centuries before Ssŭ-ma's time; but being unknown to him they are an independent witness which strengthens our reliance upon the great historian in fixing upon B.C. 841 as the first year of the *Kung-ho*. Ssŭ-ma had unofficial records from various states, but they did not fully agree one with another, and he had to use his own historical judgment in determining the date of the *Kung-ho*, but his conclusion is entirely supported by the Bamboo Annals whose evidence he did not have to help him. Further, in fixing this date he found it necessary to add one year to the reign of the pre-*Ch'un-ch'iu* marquis Wu of Lu as given in the chronicle of the state which he principally used. The Bamboo Annals agree with him also in this detail.

Ssu-ma refused to commit himself to a chronology before the *Kung-ho*, but he has left us a list of the marquises of Lu with the length of their reigns. According to these data the first marquis, son to the great Duke of Chou, died in the year B.C. 998. The Bamboo Annals give his death nine years later, but, as Professor Chavannes points out, this date agrees with Ssŭ-ma's list much nearer than the Common Chronology does.

Here we meet with an interesting but at present perhaps

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(1) Huang-ti's successor, the Emperor Chih (□), is the only sovereign whose reign is not given in the long list of the *Annals*—almost against the very *raison-d'être* of such a work: here we have not Annals but history. The addition of the Five Emperors was already made in the eighth century. (see Chavannes, p. 460), that is, before the cycle years were inserted: why then were they not continued back to Huang-ti? Professor Chavannes—who it may be added held that the Five Emperors are a part of the text—explained the want of the cycle year by the uncertainty of the length of Chih's reign.

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an insoluble problem. Ssŭ-ma intimates[1] that he had two chronologies of Lu, one—which we will call La—did not agree with his final conclusion upon the *Kung-ho* whilst the other, Lb, did agree; yet he follows the former in his chronicle of Lu,[2] whilst Lb, or one similar, is followed by the Bamboo Annals. Was then Ssŭ-ma's list of the early marquises which the Bamboo Annals did not follow, derived from La, which they also did not follow? And was Lb derived from the same source as the *Annals?* Having no other means of investigation, we should perhaps be inclined tentatively to say Yes to both questions. There then remains the further question What was the common source of Lb and the *Annals?* When the Bamboo Annals were compiled the official record of Lu still existed, though it is not sure that it would be available, but it was destroyed before Ssŭ-ma's time. It may be that, if not the official record, there was some other derived from it which the *Annals* and Lb used but Lb was otherwise too incomplete for Ssŭ-ma's general use.

The chronology of the Bamboo Annals before the *Kung-ho* is shorter than either the common system or Ssŭ-ma's list of marquises. Its chief value is in being our best authority for nearly two hundred years after the close of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso chuan* and in being a contemporary record of the last generation of the fourth century B.C.

(1) Chap. 14. The intimation is not a precise statement: he tells us that the first year of the *Kung-ho* coincided with the fifteenth year of the then marquis of Lu and adds "One says the fourteenth year."

(2) The dates in his chronicles of the various States frequently do not tally with those in his Chronological tables (chaps. 14 and 15). This is good evidence of his honesty—he gives his chronicles as he had them and gives his own opinion only in the tables.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE ON *Li-min* (黎 民)

With reference to C. M.'s queries (pp. 100–102), concerning the term *Li-min;* I must reiterate that there was *originally* a distinction made between the 百姓 and the 黎民. It is impossible to refer intelligibly to the character 黎 without first entering into a disquisition on the term 百姓, which will assist us in setting the matter before us in a clearer light. My authority for stating that the term 百姓 is derived from the hundred clans or surnames, and that there was *originally* a distinction made between 百姓 and 黎民 is as follows: In my copy of the 堯典, 平章百姓, 古注, the following sentence occurs: 百姓百官族姓也, and in the same chapter the following: 黎民於變乃是民耳. I take it, therefore, seeing that the first sentence is quite clear, the second sentence cannot mean anything else but that "when the *Li* or rustics (husbandmen) became transformed" or educated or whatever we chose to translate the character *pien*, then "they became *Min*." The Li, therefore, appear to have been the rustics pure and simple, as distinguished from the *Min* who were the educated or official class. The 百姓 were apparently the official class, as the term 平章百姓, indicates "to regulate and order the officials." Then again, in the 鄭氏佚書, 尚書注 — by Chêng Hsüan (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, No.

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274), one of the greatest of the Han scholars who in collaboration with Ma Jung devoted himself to the exposition of the old canonical literature with a view to the elucidation of the orthodox texts, we find the following: 百姓羣臣之父子兄弟也, *i.e.*, the *Po-hsing* are the members of all official families, father, sons, and elder and younger brothers. *Cf.* Giles' *Dictionary*, No. 4599 (*New Ed.*), where it is stated "that (*hsing*) was originally the clan name of a noble."

These preliminary explanations having, I hope, cleared the way, we come to the real knot—the term *Li-min*. And, as will be seen, the unravelling of this somewhat mystic character is exceedingly difficult and bewildering. I had not overlooked the fact that 黎 is composed of 黍 and 勿; and might have stated that 黍 was composed of 禾, grain, and 氽, which latter symbol is an abbreviated form of 雨, rain. Also that 利 is an old form of 黎 and 秎. Evidently 利 has had 氽 added and the 刂 slightly altered to 勿. We have therefore grain, water and a sickle in the composition of a character said to refer to the blackness of hair!

According to the 說文, the character 黎 simply means "shoe-paste." And in the 段註說文解字, it is stated that the original form of 黎 was 黧 and 秬 (a name of a country). Now it is well known that Hsü Shên the author of the *Shuo-wên* was a devoted student of the orthodox literature of his country, and with the assistance of Chia K'uei (賈逵), one of the greatest of Han scholars, he studied all the accessible literature in the old characters and in those invented in later times; so that if 黎 had any such meaning as "black-haired" he would have noticed it.

That 黧 gradually developed into its present form of 黎 is evidenced by the following: 黧殷諸侯國; 今商書西伯戡黎今文尚書作耆. 尚書大傳文王受命五年伐耆周本紀明年敗耆國或作阮或作飢皆假借字也許所據古文尚書作黧戈部作黎蓋俗改也左傳曰赤狄奪黎氏地詩序曰狄人迫逐黎侯未知卽商諸侯之後與否.

The same work goes on to say that during the Chou dynasty the people were called 黎民, the character 黎 then

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meaning "many" 衆也, and points it out as an error on the part of the Sung scholars to assign the meaning of "black." The text follows: 周謂之黎民. 大雅雲漢禮記大學黎民皆訓衆民. 釋詁曰黎衆也詩桑柔傳曰黎齊也宋人或以黑色訓黎民殊誤許言此者證秦以前無黔首之偁耳非謂黔黎同義.

According to the 王筠撰集說解字句讀 and the 徐鍇釋說文繫傳 the original characters for 黎民 and 黎民 were 黧民 and 遲明. The first character means a dark sallow colour and the second *Li* (遲) is equivalent to *ch'ih* (遲) meaning slowly or gradually, *i.e.*, referring to the gradual breaking of daylight. Is it not possible, therefore, that 黧 has been changed to 黎 in the sense of blackness of hair, and that 黎 referred to the rustics or husbandmen? 黎 as C. M. points out is also the name of a tribe. According to the above-mentioned books the 黎 were the descendants of the 俚 rustics of the Later Han dynasty: 黎種族名卽後漢之俚人也 It may also be remarked that the natives of Yüeh (粵) called a mountain ridge 黎. This was because a tribe called 黎 or 俚 inhabited it. Hence, the surname 黎 is quite common in Canton. In Kuangsi they were known as foxes, 狸. See 廣東通志.

The surname Li is also said to be derived from the marquis of Li (黎侯), chief of a feudal state in the Chou dynasty.

And in the 班固西都城, the characters 懸黎 are said to be the name of a valuable jade!

I admit that C. M. makes a good case in stating that the term 民靡有黎 could be made to read "Of the people none has *husbandmen*"! It could with equal truth be made to read "Of the people none were *young*"! But seeing that 利 and 黎 were interchanged, or rather that 利 is an old form of 黎, why not translate "Of the people none were *prosperous*"? Further information may be gleaned on this subject in the 爾雅翼 and 六書精蘊, in addition to those references already given above.

My principal reason for suggesting "husbandmen" is because ploughing and sowing form a far more distinct

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characteristic of the Chinese than the blackness of hair, for the aboriginal tribes in and around China are all black-haired, but honour paid to agriculture is confined to the pure Chinese alone.

I confess I see no more absurdity in this theory than the one Dr. Legge adopted, *viz.*, the suggestion that "there were no black-haired men left, because all the young and lusty men were away fighting or slain, so that only white-haired old men were to be seen."

As the "fighting men" were probably nearly all drawn from the peasant class, why not "husbandmen" instead of "black-haired"?

But even if we make 黎 "black-haired" instead of "agricultural" it cannot have the force Dr. Legge gave it.

Nowadays it is undoubtedly a conventional epithet applied to the Chinese generally; but my contention is that *originally* it did not have that meaning if we are to accept the statements given in the above-mentioned works that the 百姓 and 黎民 were differentiated.

It is of course just possible that during the first great "bibliothecal catastrophe" when Ch'in Shih Huang burnt most of the books that the original meaning of 黎 became lost and it was not till the Sung dynasty that it derived its present meaning of "black-hair." This is evident from all the old books or records previous to the Sung period that touch on it at all.

We have "shoe-paste," "many," a "surname," "name of a tribe," "name of a jade," "a mountain ridge," "name of a country," "the common people." And last but not least, the word "rustic" which, from the composition of the character, is more in their line—husbandry. As to C. M.'s query concerning the classical term 色難: this will be treated in a separate note.

L. C. ARLINGTON.

THE FIRE-PROOF WAREHOUSES OF LIN-AN.

C. M.'s most interesting note on the *t'a fang* (塌坊) at Hangchow has led me—fortunately being on the spot—to

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make enquiries into the subject, with the result that all the available information obtained from the natives shows that they were really warehouses as C. M. rightly surmises.

The consensus of opinion however is that they were neither towers nor subterranean vaults or cellars, but *p'ing fang* (平方). This theory is borne out by the fact that the writer quoted by C. M. says that "they were buildings of a thousand and more *divisions*." The use of the word *chien* (間) for divisions shows that the writer had in mind *p'ing fang*, not towers, in which case he would have been more likely to use the word *ts'êng* (層), or, if referring to the divisions of underground passages, the word *tao* (道).

That they were built in and surrounded by water does not necessarily mean that they were towers, but, on the contrary, strongly built houses of stone to protect them from fire and burglars.

The "comparatively lofty walls of rammed earth, standing on solid stone bases" to which C. M. refers, are probably the fire-walls in existence at the present day; they are between twenty and forty feet high, many of them overtopping the houses they surround. At a distance they appear like a stretch of fortifications with here and there ramparts rising high above them. Some idea may be had of the original meaning of *t'a* and its use from the fact that the local term *t'a huo* (塌貨) means to store goods for speculative purposes—to corner the market. The term is still in use throughout Chêkiang and is probably derived from *t'a fang*, *i.e.*, buildings in which goods were stored to protect them from fire, etc. That the *t'a fang* were not noticed by lexicographers is probably due to the fact that the term is a purely local one, not known outside of Chêkiang.

The treasury beneath the pond referred to by C. M., where the turtles are still kept to the present day in front of the Provincial Treasurer's *yamên*, is not cut in solid rock, but is simply an excavation in the soil, built round on all sides with stone blocks which are ornamented with stone lions. The pond is said to have been originally only three or four feet in depth, but owing to the continual burrowing of the turtles in search of food, it is now about ten feet deep.

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This fact would go to show that there could not have been a treasury *beneath* the pond. Besides, the story is taken from the legend of the "White Snake" and has, therefore, no historical value. It may be remarked in passing that the pond is fed from the wells and springs at Ch'êng Huang Shan (城隍山), which is only a few hundred yards distant.

It may be of interest to note, also, that the old Provincial Treasurer's *yamên*—now used as the Land Surveyor's Office—was specially built for, and occupied by the traitor Ch'in Kuei (Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 392), the murderer of Yo Fei.

L. C. ARLINGTON.

We are pleased in the interests of science to print the following request for information. Readers who can answer some of the questions should write to Mr. E. E. GOMERSALL, The Geography Department, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (Wales).

My aim is to collect as much information as possible regarding the racial characteristics and differences in the various districts or provinces of China (particularly China Proper, at first); *e.g.*, differences in physique, height, build, features, shape of head, eye, nose, complexion, colour of hair and eyes, manners, customs, dress, intelligence, and mode of life; from which I wish to work out, if possible, where distinct groups possessing special raciai characteristics are located, and to state in what ways one group differs from another.

I should like much more definite information than I have already gathered about the tribes of the West and South West, *e.g.*:

1. The distinction, if any, between the Lisu proper and the Black Lisu.
2. The differences between the Black-boned or Liang Shan Lolo and the Lolo to the South of the Yangtze, of whom one writer says "they are considered to be serious rivals of the Chinese in the struggle for the lands of Western China."
3. Whether the Independent Lolo of the left bank of the Upper Yangtze are the same people as the Liang-Shan Lolo.

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4. Whether the Yünnan Lolos are descended from the same branch as the Liang Shan Lolos, and where their original nidus is, in N. E. Yünnan or S. E. Tibet, or both.
5. The distinction between the Miao proper and the Black Miao of Hunan.
6. The differences between the Shan tribes, *e.g.*, the Hung or Lung Jen, the Sha Jen and Tu Lao.
7. Information regarding groups of Kachins, the Was, the Lahu or Lohei, the Palaungs and the Akkas (not Hakkas).
8. Whether the Ku-tsung are related to the Kiu-tzu or Khunnongs of N. E. Burma.
9. If there is any distinction between Sifans and Tibetans so far as race is concerned.
10. Information regarding the Mosso tribes, the Hunza Nagars, the people of the Chia Rung States, the Horba States (including the Chantui and Chagla), the Derge, Chamdo, Draya, Litang and Mili, the Lutzu and the Yu-Yang.
11. Whether the Yaos proper differ from the Lau Tien Yao.
12. Whether groups of the Mon Khmer (the probable people of Yünnan before the Shans, Miao, and Lolo) still exist, and their description.
13. Information regarding the T'u Yen and the Dzorgue Confederation of Nomad tribes.
14. Which of the tribes quoted could be considered of the same stock and grouped together?
15. The characteristics and descent of the Hakkas.
16. Whether there is any reason, except religious, why some groups are spoken of as Mohammedans in the S. W. and N. W., and whether Mainthas is merely another term for the same class in the South West.

Coming to the mass of the Chinese (so-called) in the East, S. E., Centre, N. E., N. and N. W., and considering that the area of the country approaches half the size of Europe, one cannot help thinking that there must be many different

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and distinctive groups. Northern and Southern Chinese certainly present many points of contrast and those towards the South appear to be the typical Chinese. Could we not try to get at the basis of some of these group distinctions? In the North there are points of contrast between the Mongol and Manchu elements, each with Chinese veneer in varying degrees. There are also other Tartar peoples worthy of differentiation, *e.g.*, the Sunites, the Chakars, with their eight banners, the Khalkas and the Oelets, also the Solons and the Si Po, though these are found on or beyond the borders, in Mongolia and Manchuria.

One might also ask whether the Hakkas are the only group distinctive from the Chinese proper in the Highlands of the S. E. and whether there is not also a distinct group in the Highlands of the Shantung Peninsula, and what are their characteristics.

It would be interesting too, to know the extent to which the Japanese, the Malay and the Hindu elements have entered into the Eastern and Southern parts of China and the Turki into the N. West. As regards the several provinces, since the conditions of life vary, and the people of one province consider those of another province as strangers, how far may it be due to some difference of race or descent?

* * *

How to Make Dried Priests.

(Told in conversation by a Peking Priest)

Take three *chin* of flax-seed and three *chin* of yellow beans. These are husked and well mixed, then steamed for three days, cooled, and brayed in a mortar. A hard cake will be formed which must in the same way be thrice steamed and pounded, and left exposed to the air for three days, when it will readily crumble into fine meal. The priest must eat this fasting, after the bowels have been purged, and he must eat as much of it as he possibly can—"eat till he is stuffed." This will sustain him for three months, during which time he will

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feel no hunger and must on no account touch food; the only liquid he may drink is an infusion of water and flax-seed, and this only in small quantities. At the end of three months the mixture will all have been digested and absorbed into the system ; no defecations will have taken place and hunger will once more be felt. The priest should do no work during this period, and his only exercise should be wandering in the pure air of the hills or deserts.

The same process is repeated, but with shorter intervals, until the stomach, liver and intestines are shrivelled and dried. He will one day be found apparently dead, the skin and flesh hard and leathery, the mind and senses moribund, but his breath will blur a mirror for months or even for as long as two years. When all signs of life are gone and the priest is really dead his body will suffer no decay and will stay in this condition for ever.

This artifice is used by Indian priests and lamas and by some Taoists, e.g., those at Po-Yung Kuan near Peking, and it is a secret known to few.

No food can be eaten without fatal results unless the body be first purged of the mixture.

False dried priests are made by cutting out the viscera and stuffing the belly with astringent herbs, the body and face being covered with a kind of lacquer.

J. C. H.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Histoire Moderne de Pays d'Annam, par C. B.-MAYBON, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris, 1920, Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 30 francs.

La Relation sur le Tonkin et la Cochinchine de Mr. de la Bissachère, par C. B.-MAYBON, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris, 1920, Edouard Champion.

In days so difficult for publishing we congratulate M. Maybon on having been able to issue these two volumes. Except that the paper of the former is inferior there is no sign that they have suffered through the war.

Annam is a land of which English readers know but little. The name is extended in the work before us to include practically the whole peninsula, from the Chinese border to the Gulf of Siam. To the British there will be little interest in the internal strife through the two centuries with which the book deals; but when it comes to matters of trade, and the competition between the East India Co., the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese, when we learn how the Company's factors at Pulo Condor were massacred, when we are reminded of the energy of Dupleix and the unaccountable slackness of Warren Hastings, every Englishman must feel interested. Annam may be said to have fallen to France as a consolation for her failure in India. The Jesuits first introduced French influence;

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later was formed the Missions-Etrangères ; missionaries acted openly as commercial agents. France had to contend not only with other nations in trade, but also with the hierarchy of Portuguese, who resented the introduction of French priests. But the power of France was established when the Bishop of Adran succeeded in getting Louis XVI to support the emperor who founded the dynasty now ruling, in return for the cession by treaty of Pulo Condor and Tourane.

The amount of research in native and European histories and archives must have been enormous, but the author has spared no pains or labour to make his work complete and correct. There is a preface by Professor H. Cordier and a good map; but we are simply astonished to find such a work not provided with an index.

The second work named is a study of one of the sources of information about Annam. La Bissachère, a missionary of the Missions-Etrangères, wrote in 1807 an account of Tonkin, but the manuscript has not hitherto been printed as the writer left it, nor over his name; M. Maybon's main task has been to disentangle the original account from the additions, annotations, etc., of various editors.

We heartily recommend both books to our English readers who would learn something of France's most prosperous overseas possession.

Elementary Cantonese, by N. L. SMITH. Kelly & Walsh, 1920.

This little book is in a class by itself ; and is, or should be, of great assistance to *beginners* of Cantonese. It is certainly an improvement on the lamentable phonetic spelling adopted by sinologues with their complicated accent marks and tone indicators; apparently done for no other purpose than to confuse the learner so that he gives it up in disgust and leaves the sinological field to those who fancy themselves born for the purpose.

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The author claims originality in two respects: first, the romanization is "frankly English"; Chinese sounds are represented by ordinary English words where such are available. Second, he has a new method of teaching the tones and habituating the learner to "think tonally." The way in which he displays the tone to the eye looks bewildering at first, but is simple and may prove very effective.

There are, however, a few slips which require observation: *e.g.*, *heng* on p. 93, ex. 22, should be *hing; heng* is in the Sunwui dialect. *Hing* means *elder* brother.

P. 26, ex. 11, "To do work" should be "dso goong *foo*."

P. 28, ex. 27, "Mooy tahn" should be coal and *charcoal.*

P. 29, ex. 38, "Tow seen" means "a moment ago" and "First of all" should be *Hay tow.*

P. 30, ex. 45, "Tye Geen" means seen, or within sight. To see, should be *Tye*, or *Tye hay.*

P. 43, ex. 32, "Yow Eoo mahk shuy" should be "Yow Eoo *Dee* mahk shuy."

P. 60, ex. 19, "M Gom" means "dare not," not "cannot."

P. 66, ex. 8, "Light the fire" should be *Deem faw;* "Deem joek faw Lo" means the fire is lit, or has been lighted.

P. 81, ex. 6, "I will pay your train-fare" should be "Ngaw bay nay dee faw cheh fye."

P. 98, sample. "Nee nup shuy" should be Nee *deem*, or *dik* shuy. *Nup* is not used of water.

P. 115, 點 *Deem* means a dot, a part, not a "stroke."

P. 124, 較 "Gaow," the correct character is 鉸.

P. 218, 關 "Serious" should be 關係 not 關.

P. 138, 李 "Luggage" should be 行李.

P. 142, 莫 "About" should be 約莫.

In order to subdivide the meaning of words the 變音 or "variant" should have been specially noted and marked. This "variant" is somewhat akin to an "accidental" in music, and is exceedingly irregular; but it is very common in popular speech according to the turn which is given to the tone, note or voice.

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It also appears to us that *foe* would be better than *faw*, *doe* for *do*, etc.

These are, however, only suggestions, and although there is room for improvement, this handy little volume should be studied by all who would seriously undertake the study of this unhappy language.

The North-China Desk Hong List, 1920. Office of North-China Daily News, $5.

The publishers do not boast on the title-page that this is the *n*th of the Hong List; but it has come out year after year, always growing bigger and better, till no Desk can do without its List; and as it is indispensable to every business firm, so it is also a great convenience to the private resident. It covers not only Shanghai—Hong List, Residential Directory, Who's Who, etc., but it gives similarly detailed and complete particulars for the Outports, with a full list of missionaries, and a good deal of general useful information. In such a work there cannot but be a number of mistakes, but we have not found many, and we congratulate the compilers on being so correct in their preparation of such a mass of varied material.

Israel's Messenger, Vol. VII, No. 1. Shanghai, April 7, 1920.

The present number of this irregularly issued magazine, the organ of the Shanghai Zionist Association, is called the Redemption Number. It is somewhat scrappy, but many of the scraps are of great interest to non-Jewish sympathisers with Zionism. We read of the new Synagogue in Shanghai, of the Rabbi-elect,—Rev. W. Hirsch, B.A., of the projected University of Jerusalem, etc. What joy the new dawn brings to the Jews is more than we can well imagine, but there is no doubt that their joy and hope are shared by multitudes outside of Israel.

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